THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 160 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 26, 1945 NUMBER 21

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 585

EDITORIALS

A Conference in the Doldrums 588
Shall America Help Russia Rebuild? 588

ARTICLES

Trieste and San Francisco *by I. F. Stone* 589
Austria: Test for the Coalition *by Ernst Karl Winter* 591
The Anatomy of Full Employment *by Leo Barnes* 593
Chicago's Un-American Guests *by Milburn P. Akers* 597
In the Wind 598

POLITICAL WAR

France at This Moment
Its Role at the Conference *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 599
The Elections Interpreted *by Jules Moch* 600

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 602
Democratic Faith and Puritan Piety *by Sidney Hook* 603
Verse Chronicle *by F. W. Dupee* 605
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 606
Films *by James Agee* 608
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 609

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 611

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 117 *by Jack Barrett* 612

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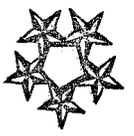
Published weekly and copyright, 1945, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

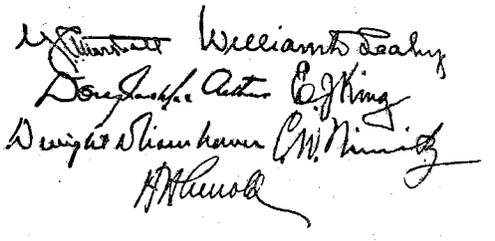


TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

Your sons, husbands and brothers who are standing today upon the battlefronts are fighting for more than victory in war. They are fighting for a new world of freedom and peace.

We, upon whom has been placed the responsibility of leading the American forces, appeal to you with all possible earnestness to invest in War Bonds to the fullest extent of your capacity.

Give us not only the needed implements of war, but the assurance and backing of a united people so necessary to hasten the victory and speed the return of your fighting men.



The Shape of Things

BITTER JAPANESE RESISTANCE HAS DELAYED American occupation of southern Okinawa and thus prevented its full exploitation in the aerial blockade of the Japanese islands. Advancing toward Shuri through rugged and heavily fortified country, and in the face of repeated Japanese counter-attacks, the Americans have had to measure their gains in terms of yards. But the delay has not slowed down the tempo of the general United Nations offensive. During the last week the B-29 air raids from the Marianas reached a scale beyond that attained in the European war. The great 500-plane raids on Nagoya appear to have inflicted far greater damage than did the 1,000-and 1,200-plane Flying Fortress raids on Berlin. And in an unparalleled demonstration of American air power the first of these B-29 raids occurred simultaneously with a 1,000-plane carrier strike against the airfields of southern Japan. In China limited successes continue in Hunan. In the Philippines more than 90 per cent of the rich island of Mindanao is in American hands. With the approaching end of the Philippine cam-

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paign, speculation naturally turns to the next step in MacArthur's campaign. The recent Chinese operations against Foochow suggest an early landing on the southern Chinese coast, but the conquest of Okinawa will open up the possibility of a landing much farther north.

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REPORTS OF A REVOLT IN SINKIANG HAVE called attention again to one of the chief stumbling-blocks in relations between Russia and China. It will be recalled that a Chinese coup d'état in this remote area three years ago caused Russia to terminate all its trade with the region and withdraw all its machinery and productive equipment. Thus, in effect, the new Chinese regime inherited an empty shell economically, since China is in no position to absorb the products of its remote dependency. The Moslem tribesmen, who constitute the bulk of the population of Sinkiang, are reported to have risen in revolt against the new Chinese regime and to have gained control of several important centers. A New York *Times* dispatch from London quotes local diplomatic quarters as indicating that Moscow had offered to help quell the revolt if Chungking would agree to a return of the pre-1941 arrangement. Ambassador Hurley is said to have discussed this proposal during his recent visit to Moscow. No final settlement is believed to have been reached. While the disturbances have been confirmed in several quarters, interpretations vary substantially, depending on whether the information sifted out through Chungking or Moscow. A basis for settlement undoubtedly exists along the lines of the pre-1941 condominium. Russia's interests in Sinkiang are primarily economic, China's primarily political. An agreement which would recognize Chinese sovereignty and provide special facilities for Russian trade should not only serve the interests of both countries but also contribute to the welfare of the local tribesmen.

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RUSSIA'S SUSPICIONS REGARDING THE USE OF German officers such as Doenitz and Krosigk by Supreme Allied Headquarters continue to find vehement expression in the Moscow press, notwithstanding General Eisenhower's order that these men are to be used but not given power or publicity. The distinction is a delicate one, and we can understand Russia's doubts. The record of British-American dealings with assorted pro-Axis generals in North Africa and Italy is not reassuring. Nor is the unforgotten statement by a high American official after the Darlan agreement that when we moved into Germany we would accept Goering himself if he could deliver the Luftwaffe. It would be possible, of course, to employ members of the German general staff purely as vehicles for the transmission of orders, not as men who had been given authority or who were winning immunity from later punishment as Nazi criminals. We believe this should be made plain—and not only to still Russia's fears. Everywhere in Europe people are watching to see what the Allied authorities will do with the terrorists now in their hands. The British have permitted German troops on Crete to retain their arms in order to defend themselves against the vengeance of the population. Such a ruling is fantastic unless it is followed by swift and drastic punishment carried out in accordance with the agreement made at Moscow that those guilty of specific crimes will be tried in the countries where such crimes have been committed. Delay and legalistic quibbling in the handling of war criminals will increase the suspicion, already general, that the Western Allies care more for the preservation of order than for the extermination of fascism.

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SIXTY MILLION JOBS HAS BECOME A SLOGAN which symbolizes new hope for a secure America after the war, a fighting phrase to rally liberals everywhere against reactionary attempts to hold back the clock. But a slogan, however useful, can be no substitute for solid economic thinking. When the anatomy of full employment is dissected industry by industry, trade by trade, the magnitude and the complexity of America's particular problem become more evident and more alarming. Elsewhere in this issue we carry an article by Leo Barnes, director of economic research for the Research Institute of America, which makes a draft survey of the post-war economic map of the United States. We recommend it to the careful study of our readers. For those who normally shy off economic charts and statistics we suggest that the table on p. 594 is neither complicated nor dull. It tells a story of past achievement and failure and suggests just how big is the job ahead if 60 million Americans are to have jobs when the war is over. We call it to the especial attention of Congressmen.

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ONE QUESTION WHICH THE WESTERN ALLIES earnestly hoped to brush off but which forced itself into the discussion at San Francisco is the question of Spain. The collapse of Nazi power has left to Franco the uneasy honor of being the last important focus of fascism on the European continent. He has met the situation by trying to scramble over to the democratic side, but he has discovered, like his confreres in Argentina, that every gesture in the direction of liberty necessitates more severe measures of repression if his regime is not to be overthrown. Last February he shot without trial sixteen political prisoners in reprisal for the killing of two minor Falangist officials during an attack on a Falangist party headquarters in a workers' district in Madrid. Just recently eight others were sentenced to die for complicity in this attack: seven of them were executed. Republicans insist that the incident was a frame-up to provide a plausible excuse for the executions. But the fact remains that political arrests and killings have markedly increased since Franco began issuing his series of amnesty announcements. The lot of the dictator turned democrat is not merely hard, it is hopeless.

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BUT THE SPANISH ISSUE HAS BEEN PRECIPITATED at San Francisco less by Franco's recent misdeeds than by the vigorous action of delegates who understand the necessity of insuring in advance that Spain's fascist regime shall not get into the security organization in the guise of a "neutral" and that a place shall be held for a democratic Spain when Franco has been overthrown. That the question is not academic is indicated by the language used in a letter from Edward Stettinius to the Friends of the Spanish Republic, acknowledging a request for a hearing before the committee considering admissions. Mr. Stettinius remarked that while "the United States delegation does not expect to be called

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upon to take cognizance of a request for admission of Spain, such a request might properly be entertained by the international organization after its formation." That contingency is exactly what the Friends of the Spanish Republic are determined to avoid and they have won the active support of many of the genuinely democratic delegations. At a large and enthusiastic press luncheon held in honor of Spain's last Republican Foreign Minister, J. Alvarez del Vayo, a representative of China made the first public statement calling attention to the pro-Japanese record of Franco and to the Chinese government's refusal to recognize his regime. And the fact that Mr. Molotov, a few days before leaving for Moscow, held a long, off-the-record conference with Mr. Del Vayo had an immediate significance which was not lost either on the delegates or on the press.

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SINCE THEN OTHER DELEGATIONS HAVE MADE their opinions known. Several Latin American countries, eager to atone for their action on Argentina or at least to demonstrate that the Argentine decision was not a sample of their attitude toward fascist states in general, have definitely decided to force consideration of the Spanish question. A most impressive statement by Luis Quintanilla of the Mexican delegation will have been presented to the conference before this issue appears. A few sentences are well worth quoting here:

> I speak for the Mexican delegation. My purpose is to make clear that Mexico accepted the text of Article I, Chapter III, with the understanding that membership in the new international organization cannot be claimed by defeated Axis governments or the de facto governments imposed by the military forces of the Axis.
>
> We have in mind not only the puppet government of Manchukuo but, closer to us Spanish-speaking republics, that of Spain. . . .
>
> We can now without endangering the course of European operations speak the whole truth; and the historical truth, Mr. Chairman, is that without the military help of Mussolini's legions and Hitler's air power, the forces of democracy in Spain, represented by the legally elected Republican government, would be seated here, helping us today.

After citing a few of the Spanish dictator's most flagrant protestations of loyalty to the Axis, Mr. Quintanilla ended his remarks with this sharp and uncompromising demand:

> Mr. Chairman, the Mexican delegation submits that the voice that spoke those words must never be heard in the international organization which you, gentlemen, are creating.

If anything more were needed to focus and intensify the activities of the anti-Franco elements, the arrival of Dr. Juan Negrín should provide it. As these paragraphs are being written, Dr. Negrín is on his way to the coast where he will meet with his friends in the conference and with fellow Spanish Republicans now in San Francisco. If Spain is a symbol of the underlying meaning of the struggle for a free world, the head of Spain's last legal government symbolizes the undefeated resistance of the Spanish people. The Republican groups, long held apart by geographical dispersion and the political differences that multiply in exile, look hopefully to Dr. Negrín to integrate and lead them in the final battle against the tyranny that strangles their country. It is important that the San Francisco conference contribute to this effort an unequivocal repudiation of Franco and his claim to fellowship in the new society of nations.

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THE DANGERS FACING THE TRADE-AGREEMENT program were clearly indicated in the narrow margin by which it was indorsed by the House Ways and Means Committee. The bill to extend the reciprocal trade policy for three years squeaked through the committee by a three-vote margin. Every Republican on the committee opposed the measure, and one Democrat—West of Texas—joined the Republican minority. If Republican opposition on the floor is as complete, a few dissident Democrats, representing special sectional interests, would succeed in scuttling the bill. The Republican vote in the committee shows that the party's Congressional representatives have learned nothing from the elections of 1940 and 1944. In those elections the Republican Presidential candidates tried to woo independent votes by adopting a progressive attitude toward the Administration's basic foreign policies. But the inflexible record of the party in opposition to the trade-expansion program in Congress spoke louder than the conciliatory words of the Republican candidates. It is to be hoped that the voters will make their attitude known to their Congressmen before the bill comes up for a vote in the House.

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NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIVE CANDIDATES are competing for the 245 seats in Canada's federal Parliament. The election will be held on June 11. It will be interesting and significant for liberal forces in the United States to observe whether the results show the leftward trend which has characterized political developments in other parts of the democratic world. Essentially it is a three-way contest among the Liberal Party, the Progressive-Conservative Party, and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Among them they account for 645 nominations. Of the minor parties the most important group is to be found in the province of Quebec, where the issues of the war and conscription have fanned nationalist and anti-government sentiment. Here no fewer than 130 candidates are listed in the column marked "others"; of these, 69 will run as Independents and 35 as Bloc Populaire. Mr. King must win a majority of Quebec's sixty-five seats if he is to come back with a majority. Quebec is therefore a province to watch. The C. C. F., sure of decided gains scattered across the country, is chiefly interested in the western provinces and Ontario. It will almost certainly elect most of the members from Saskatchewan, where a year ago a C. C. F. government was swept into power. It has also shown marked strength in British Columbia. The Ontario vote, however, is of greatest consequence. Eighty-two seats are to be contested, and all three major parties are concentrating their fight in this province. Here one of the factors is the Communist Party—parading under the label of Labor-Progressive. The Communists have in general urged support of Liberals, and the main object of their assault has been the C. C. F. Small numerically, they may split the vote sufficiently in certain crucial industrial districts to elect a Liberal or a Conservative. *The Nation* expects to give a first-hand analysis of the election situation in an early issue.

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A Conference in the Doldrums

BICKERINGS at San Francisco and in other Allied councils have induced a mood of disillusionment in more than one devoted champion of effective international organization. People were startled, not to say shocked, at the opening quarrel over chairmanships. The Polish dispute—a skeleton that keeps emerging from the conference cupboard at unexpected and irrelevant moments—frightens participants and spectators alike, not less as an omen of trouble to come than for its own ugly features. In the last few days it has been joined by a Yugoslav cousin. As for regionalism and universalism, it is hard to say which is more irritating—the united tenacity of our good Latin American neighbors or the forced suspense of the conference while Moscow deliberates. Finally, the small nations, instead of holding their noses and swallowing the great-power veto, keep spitting out bits of it, to the renewed discomfiture of those good liberals who from the first have been a little ashamed of the pill.

The disappointed are not much consoled when diplomatic old hands remind them that conferences are always that way. Their trouble is something more than lack of sophistication. It betrays the fact that despite the strong strain of conservatism and conventionality that distinguished the whole process of preparation for the meeting, people were still hoping for miracles at this first Constituent Assembly of the United Nations. They may well be forgiven a sense of indignation and defeat in the presence of accumulating evidence that even this most immeasurable of wars has not been enough to change the nature or the temper of international politics. It is nevertheless worth insisting that, given the limitations foreshadowed as early as the Moscow Declaration of 1943 and highlighted in the Dumbarton Oaks agreements of 1944, there is no reason yet to write the San Francisco conference off as a failure.

Nothing whatever has occurred to alter the essential character of the organization planned in the Dumbarton text. We still have the prospect of a structure very much like the League of Nations, with somewhat better arrangements for checking aggression provided the great powers can agree, at the moment of actual need, to use them. In some particulars, which may become very important in the process of growth, the conference has brought promise of improvement. Thus the new provisions for future amendment, while they have not removed the great-power veto, will make for easier adaptation to changing conditions. The composition of the council is improved by fuller recognition of the middle powers, while all small states are gaining some satisfaction in the revision of the general assembly's functions. A fuller and more practical plan for the advancement of essential human rights is being worked out. Debate still rages around the relations between the United Nations and regional organizations; but this problem was clearly foreseen, and it is better to tackle all its difficulties now than to have them surprise us later. The business of providing a successor for the League's mandate system—a part entirely missing in the Dumbarton text—is well in hand. These tasks are made hard by the conflicting interests involved. They are nevertheless inevitable; there is reason for gratitude that their thorniness has not become an excuse for shirking or postponing them.

It will be a first-class disaster if idealists, disappointed of exaggerated hopes, turn their backs on San Francisco and wander off into cynicism. The long and hard pull for all of us who want successful organization lies ahead. We are not going to be presented with an automatic mechanism of peace. For some years after the end of hostilities conditions are going to be only less desperate than those of actual war. There will be need for great power swiftly used. The tendency will be to decide the largest issues outside the new League. In those years the United Nations organization will die, unless by patient, untiring pressure we consolidate and expand the nucleus that will be given us and so fit it for an increasing role in pacification, welfare, and long-term security. The battle for effective world organization has not been lost; it is only beginning.

COMING IN *THE NATION*
KAY BOYLE, *Hotel Behind the Lines*
CAREY MCWILLIAMS, *Columbia River Epic*

Shall America Help Russia Rebuild?

SOME bad poker is being played with Russia these days. The political aspect of the game is attracting more attention, but the economic is just as important. Recently, for example, when Secretary Grew announced that lend-lease shipments to Russia were being stopped or scaled down because the European war had ended, some of the boys in the back room applauded lustily and waited for the chips to be shoved across to our side of the table. It seemed pretty clear that Russia needed our financial assistance so badly that it would have to make certain political concessions we had been asking for. It may turn out, however, that we have underestimated the strength of Russia's hand, and that Russia may get tired and decide to pull out of the game.

What are the facts? Russia has undoubtedly suffered tremendous physical losses during the war—much greater losses than any other of the United Nations. Moreover, these losses came on top of a long period during which the Russian people had to deny themselves goods that we in the West consider necessities in order to build up their heavy industries and later manufacture armaments to resist the Nazis. To aid its reconstruction and at the same time to speed up the flow of consumer goods Moscow has asked the United States for a twenty-year loan of six billion dollars. Continuing lend-lease aid, even if it were limited to essential military supplies, would further lighten the Soviet's economic burden.

But if we refuse to extend economic aid to Russia, it does not follow that Russia's economic program is com-

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pletely stymied or that Russia will come to us on bended knee asking what concessions it must make to get credits. Russia has the means to carry out its reconstruction program under its own power even if that involves the continuation of the sacrifices its people have been making for many years. The Soviet economy is crippled, but its prospects of reconstruction are much brighter than they were after the last war, and they are certainly brighter than those of any other European country. In contrast with 1918, Russia has come out of this war with internal stability, with vast experience in large-scale planning, with millions of skilled workers, and with a sizable industrial plant. Moreover, the Russians count on the use of German labor to help them rebuild their cities and on substantial reparations in goods from the parts of Germany occupied by the Red Army. In Upper Silesia the Russians have acquired a potential coal supply almost equal to their entire prewar production. The zinc deposits near Beuthen are among the largest in the world, and the great Silesian industries, in contrast with those of the Ruhr, are reported to have suffered little damage from bombing. In normal times the Silesian plants are equipped to turn out machine tools, rails, railway locomotives and cars, and automobiles—all of vital importance in Russia's reconstruction.

Russia, therefore, can be counted on to make a good recovery even if left to its own—and Germany's—resources. Without help from us it will still be able to adopt the policy of self-sufficiency, more or less isolated from the world economy, which it followed with some success during the 1920's and 1930's. This policy paid dividends during the war. It will not contribute either to the cause of international organization or to a rapidly rising standard of living for the Russian people.

Whether Russia continues to emphasize a self-sufficient defense economy depends on certain conditions over which we and Great Britain have some control. First, will an international security organization emerge that offers Russia, as well as Britain and ourselves, genuine protection against war? Second, are Britain and the United States willing to contribute economic aid to Russia that would underpin the political guaranties? It is impossible to separate the security arrangements agreed upon at San Francisco from the economic arrangements which are the tangible expression of continuing international cooperation. During the war the ever-increasing flow of lend-lease material was tangible evidence of American good faith in the coalition war. A long-term loan would provide similar evidence that cooperation would continue in the peace. Under such circumstances and only under such circumstances is Russia likely to feel secure enough to abandon its isolationist policies.

But why, Congress may ask, should the United States buy Russian cooperation to the tune of six billion dollars? Lend-lease was a matter of national survival; peace-time credits are harder to justify. The answer is twofold. First, it is as much to our benefit as to Russia's to have a workable security system rooted in mutual understanding and cooperation. Second, even though the policy of extending lend-lease into peace-time relations could be justified, Russia is asking only that a repayable loan be made. Russia's record for honoring financial obligations is good. Third, a six-billion-dollar export program to Russia might play an important role in maintaining employment in our vastly expanded heavy industries during the next decade. All these advantages will be lost if we attempt to use our strong bargaining position to force political concessions that Russia fears may endanger its security.

Trieste and San Francisco

BY I. F. STONE

San Francisco, May 20

I DO not wish to be alarmist, and I put this down in the utmost sobriety: it is beginning to seem as if the main business of the United Nations Conference on International Organization is not to write a charter for a stable peace but to condition the American people psychologically for war with the Soviet Union. Three weeks ago this was a mere subterranean political tendency. It has developed at a terrifying rate into the major preoccupation of the press and of the conference. The assumption that sooner or later we shall have to fight a third world war against the U. S. S. R. has become the premise of Anglo-American political maneuvering. It seems to me essential to bring this to public attention as sharply and widely as possible before matters get out of hand.

A few weeks ago anti-Soviet propaganda was conspicuous only in the Hearst and similar papers. The hysteria skilfully generated by these sources and by off-the-record poison to favored correspondents has since spread to more respectable quarters. The four-page special conference edition distributed here by the New York *Times* has shown a steady decline in objectivity, and this morning's issue was largely taken up with one aspect or another of the red menace. The unspeakable William P. Carney, who so distinguished himself during the Spanish civil war, was back with a cock-and-bull story about "reds win control of America's press," while Edwin L. James, the paper's managing editor, attacked the Russians as "welshers." James B. Reston, No. 1 staff man of the *Times* at the conference and a first-rate reporter, has lapsed into some febrile and feeble anti-Russian editorializing in what are supposed to be news stories. This press atmosphere, for which the American delegation must bear a heavy responsibility, is hardly calculated to improve relations with the U. S. S. R.

Tongues clack at all the better cocktail parties about the terrible danger of letting the Russians into Central Europe. Archbishop John J. Mitty at a solemn mass this morning at St. Mary's Cathedral, "for the cause of Lithuania," de-

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nounced "Russian occupation" of that country as a violation of moral law. All the bitter reactionary left-overs of Eastern Europe, from Poland's Matuszewski to Yugoslavia's Fotich, are playing Paul Revere behind the scenes. Let us imagine that Moscow had a free press and free speech like ours and that while we were meeting there to frame a world organization Trotskyite papers set up a din about capitalist duplicity and orthodox archbishops attacked our government for oppressing Puerto Rico. In such circumstances I doubt whether our delegation, even if it didn't pack up angrily and go home, would be willing to trust American security to Russian promises. It is a useful exercise in international understanding to try to put ourselves in the other fellow's place for a change.

The increasing emphasis here on combating the Soviet menace is accompanied by a mounting series of conflicts in Europe. While Mr. Roosevelt was alive, the United States was a kind of middle man between Britain and Russia, but since his death the British have been able to seize the central position and play us off against the Soviets in typical balance-of-power politics. Mr. Churchill's remark about not handing over Europe to new forms of totalitarianism and police government has been supplemented during the week by General Alexander's nasty ultimatum comparing Tito in Trieste to "Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan." Admittedly there are difficult problems involved, but this is the way one talks to an enemy, not an ally. It is the spirit of "come on and fight," not of "let's sit down and talk this over."

The Trieste crisis has the gravest possibilities and overshadows everything else here tonight, even the reported surrender of Moscow on our desire for a pan-American regional bloc. This last-minute Russian acquiescence may prove another of the costly victories the American delegation has won at San Francisco. For acceptance of regionalism in this form may easily lay the legal basis, from the very beginning of the new organization, for splitting the world into hostile blocs. My own feeling is that the Russians may have decided that the new organization is not important enough to fight about, and that their wisest course would be to help wind up the conference as rapidly as possible before it causes more trouble. If my hunch is correct, we may also see rapid compromises on some of the other remaining issues. Our delegation is reluctant to pledge itself to "full employment." It does not want a promise of eventual independence for colonies. The Soviets, having reaped the political advantages of their progressive stand on these issues, may be content to let us win a psychic victory on both.

San Francisco's wrangles over organizational details are becoming less and less important except as reflections of deep-seated political difficulties which cannot be sidestepped much longer. Stalin's letter on Poland, with its flat denial that the sixteen arrested underground leaders were invited to confer and its refusal to link their cases with the governmental reorganization promised at Yalta, helps to clear the air on that issue. I am convinced that we must recognize that the diehard elements left in the London Polish government in exile cannot safely be included in any new Polish government and that the Anders army in exile cannot be allowed to return as an army without the risk of civil war in Poland. But I am also convinced that the Russians and the Warsaw Poles are prepared to implement the Yalta pact by taking in leaders who have left the London government in protest against its intransigence, and that on this basis a mutually satisfactory settlement is possible.

Trieste is more difficult and more dangerous. Economically and traditionally it is the natural outlet of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Austria to the sea. But though the Istrian Peninsula is overwhelmingly Slovene, Trieste itself is overwhelmingly Italian in population. Trieste stirs the deepest nationalist feeling in both Yugoslavia and Italy. It is one of those problems not really soluble within a nationalist framework, and the ideal solution would be the city's internationalization. But this would require a genuinely international organization and spirit, and San Francisco has yet to provide either. On top of the nationalist clash is the clash in viewpoint between British troops wishing to preserve "order" and revolutionary partisan forces eager to purge all fascist influences, including clerical ones—a point which must alarm the Vatican. A third and perhaps the major element in this formidable situation is British concern over the shift in the European balance of power. This is reflected in the desire to stop Soviet influence at what is being referred to as the Hamburg-Trieste line, the fear of Soviet emergence via Trieste into Mediterranean politics, and an apparent determination to have a "test of strength" at Trieste. Historically the Balkans have proved hazardous places for such "tests." Trieste is not so far from Sarajevo.

Britain, hitherto distinctly unfriendly to Italy, seems to have reversed its position and to be exploiting Italian nationalist sentiment for Trieste. The spectacle of Yugoslavia and Italy at loggerheads in the old familiar way over Trieste is most discouraging to those who had hoped for a new world. But Yugoslav desire for Trieste, hatred for Italy, contempt for the weak way in which the Bonomi government has handled war criminals (several of them wanted in Yugoslavia), and the still fresh memory of all that Yugoslavia suffered under the Axis seem too deep to permit an Italian-Yugoslav agreement that might short-circuit British plans. These conclusions are reached on the basis of an off-the-record talk with a leading Yugoslav delegate here. The Yugoslavs feel that Trieste was freed by their partisans, and while they are ready to provide all military facilities to the British, they want to run the civil administration pending a final territorial settlement at the peace conference. After what happened in Greece I do not blame them.

At the moment, however, these are all minor matters compared with the importance of preventing an armed clash which would end big-power unity and bring the threat of a new world war very close indeed. Trieste, which the Yugoslavs tried to discuss with the British as far back as 1941, is the fruit of the familiar and disastrous policy of postponement. Like a number of similar problems, it cannot be kept on ice until the peace conference. A new meeting of the Big Three is made an immediate necessity by the Trieste crisis, but I do not think it can accomplish much unless President Truman is prepared to take up Mr. Roosevelt's role and mediate between the Russians and the British instead of remaining the tail to Mr. Churchill's giddy new kite.

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Austria: Test for the Coalition

BY ERNST KARL WINTER

The Nation regards this analysis of the contemporary political situation in Austria as intensely interesting and illuminating. Dr. Winter would not expect us to be in entire agreement with his interpretation of the role of right and left in Austria's past and present. We will say that we have not seen an article which throws as much light on the situation in Central Europe at the point where present lines of force appear to converge. We are particularly interested that an intelligent Austrian Catholic finds good cause for hope that Austria will become a bridge rather than a barrier between Soviet Russia and the Western democracies.

WHEN the Nazis entered Vienna in March, 1938, the shadow of World War II fell across Europe, though the Western world took little notice of it. When the Red Army entered Vienna in April, 1945, the post-war period of reconstruction began, though few people seem to have grasped that fact. The next phase of world history may reveal in Vienna whether Russian pragmatism will evolve an effective scheme of world organization or follow the road of German irrationalism. Vienna, the old capital of Central Europe, is still its pivot. There not only a new European civilization can be born, but the dream of the centuries, an ecumenical age of Christianity, with West and East not only meeting but amalgamating can perhaps be realized.

As an Austrian Catholic I see here one of the greatest opportunities ever granted to a small people. Austrian Catholics who have stood uncompromisingly against Nazism made up their mind long ago that they must side with Russia against Germany instead of persisting in the ridiculous and suicidal position of fighting a "war on two fronts." Even Schuschnigg, who wanted to save Austria by dealing with Hitler, was sure in the fading days of his power in which direction he would turn if he could start all over again. At my last meeting with him, between his trip to Berchtesgaden and his final capitulation, he confided to me—who had advised him to do so for years—that "if he had the choice," he would take Stalin, not Hitler, and that, he added, "would mean Otto Bauer," then the leader of the Social Democrats in exile. There is no doubt today that even the most conservative Austrian Catholics are ready to give Russia, if it wants it, the chance to organize the Central European world, a task in which both Old Austria and Nazi Germany signally failed.

The first product of the new situation in Austria is the Provisional Government of Dr. Karl Renner, which is really the kind of government political realists have wanted for Austria since 1930. It consists of Social Democratic trade unionists and intellectuals, Communist organizers and propagandists, Christian Socialist peasant leaders, representatives of the lower middle classes and the Christian workers, and several non-partisan experts. Although it is as yet only a government of eastern Austria, it embodies the one practical political development conceivable in Austria since 1918—a coalition between the left and the right.

Semi-officially, it has been said that the new Austrian government violates an agreement entered into by Russia and the two Western powers that Austria should be administered for the time being by an inter-Allied commission. Officially, it has been stated that "the whole question is being taken up with the Russian government" and that therefore nothing further will be said at present. The public has no knowledge whatever of any agreement about Austria made by the Big Three. Was it an "international pact" or simply some kind of "diplomatic understanding"; if the latter, as is probable, did it not foresee that circumstances arising in the course of the liberation of the country might make modifications necessary? Let us assume, for instance, that at the time of the agreement all three partners believed that no representative Austrian political leader would have survived the Nazi occupation and that therefore no government would be possible. When the Russians discovered that this was not the case, were they not justified in allowing Austrian internal politics to take their course without outside interference? In other countries, whenever expediency, military or political, required it, the Western Allies have tolerated a lot of what looked to the outside world like unilateral action by the Russians. Why not also in Austria?

It seems, however, that the "diplomatic understanding" about Austria goes back to the Moscow conference. At that time the independence of Austria was made conditional on the efforts of the Austrians themselves to regain their liberty. I pointed out then, in a letter to the New York *Times*, how little could be accomplished by promising Austria independence as a reward for good behavior if, as all Austrians knew, independence would have to be granted anyway, for the good of everybody. While the Russians, who may have been the author of the idea, obviously interpreted it as what it was, a means of propaganda, Hull and Eden seriously repeated it as if some kind of international servitude might be imposed upon the Austrians by the World Areopagus. Obviously, the "agreement" to administer Austria by a commission instead of a government was only the consequence of this previous "understanding," which in fact seems to have been a big misunderstanding. For when the Russians entered Vienna, they announced at once to the world that the Austrians had saved their national honor and thus proved worthy of independence. Now the propaganda stage was over and the real business could begin. It seems that the Western Allies did not understand this change. At any rate, while the Russians enabled a national government to come into being which is gradually carrying out far-reaching constitutional changes, the Western Allies stick to obsolete formulas which often only cover inactivity. One cannot help feeling that they have let

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themselves be maneuvered into a corner, where they can do little to advance their interests.

The idea underlying the new coalition government is basically acceptable to the Western powers. It is the first government formed under Russian auspices upon which the bright light of history falls. Numerically, the balance between the left (Social Democrats and Communists) and the right (Christian Socialists and the non-partisan experts) may be kept, or it may be destroyed if the two leftist parties combine against the one rightist party. Yet if the three Christian Socialist representatives of the peasantry, the lower middle classes, and the Christian workers understand their business —which I, knowing them, do not question in the least—they will be able to reorganize their rank and file both economically and politically under the protection of the coalition government. It may prove much more difficult to restore the unity of the labor movement, now consisting of two parties.

Inasmuch as the Red Army is in eastern Austria, the Communists are in charge of the new Austrian army, the police, and the gendarmerie. They have also taken over the Ministry of Public Instruction and Religion. Strange as it may seem, considering their Marxian dogma, they rely upon military power and intellectual propaganda, while the Christian Socialists, quite like Marxists, are satisfied with positions of economic power. The new Minister of Public Instruction and Religion, Ernst Fischer, seems to be the "strong man" of the new government. He has been a Social Democrat with Communist leanings since the early 1930's. When I tried to aid the formation of a coalition regime in 1933 by bringing Schuschnigg and Bauer together—matters went so far that some younger leaders from both parties planned to meet privately—I proposed to Bauer the inclusion, among others, of Fischer, who was then literary editor of the Social Democratic daily. Bauer, with a sovereign wave of his hand, simply said, "A poet!" Fischer's great passion for many years was to criticize from his position farther to the left the ideology and tactics of Bauer's and Renner's so-called Austro-Marxism, which I tried to interpret positively from my position on the right. In analyzing the historical causality of Austro-Marxism, however, we agreed in many respects, although it was certainly easier for me, who was on the outside, to appraise the labor party objectively. Fischer esteemed at least Bauer's ethical qualities, but Renner for him was never anything more than a "reformist petty bourgeois."

It would be very unfair to hold Fischer to account for everything he has said in communistic pamphlets—many of which were published also in this country until 1940. As the Austrian voice on the Moscow radio during recent years, he proved himself an Austrian patriot such as the Austro-Marxists of the old school, with their *Anschluss* ideology, never dreamed of being. Moreover, the Communists today are more conservative in many matters concerning school and church, matrimony and family, than the Socialists. Thus I do not think that a *Kulturkampf* is inevitably in the air. A Communist Minister for Public Instruction and Religion might seem to be the least desirable symbol of cooperation if the political coalition between the left and the right in Austria had not already introduced a new system of tripartite administration of all important public posts—each ministry will contain three party officials. If this system is allowed to grow organically, it will be able to cope with all problems rising out of partisan differences.

The Renner government in Vienna is the first step; the amalgamation of eastern and western Austria will be the next. As these lines are written, two of the traditional provincial governments, both under Social Democratic leadership, have been reestablished—one in Graz, sponsored by the Russians, the other in Klagenfurt, where in a somewhat confused situation the British Eighth Army seems not to have objected to it, while the Yugoslav occupying forces obviously disapprove. Similar provincial governments will probably follow in Linz, Salzburg, Innsbruck, and Bregenz under Christian Socialist leadership. The next natural step will then be an understanding between the central government and these provincial governments. This process should be facilitated by the Western Allies. It would be a calamity beyond measure and repair if political antagonism between centralism and federalism, which are backed now by the different occupying forces, should be allowed to grow into a metaphysical war between communism and Catholicism. I cannot see that either Russia or the Western Allies would profit from such a development.

The Austria of the coming months will be the test case of cooperation. And I mean not only cooperation between the left and the right, between labor and peasantry, between socialism and Christianity, within Austria, but also cooperation between the West and the East, between capitalism and Sovietism on a world scale. As far as Austria is concerned, both kinds of cooperation are strictly interdependent. Since the Russians are actually in Vienna, while the Americans, the British, and the French are only in the provincial capitals, I do not hesitate to say that the main opportunity and the main responsibility rest with the Russians, although the Western Allies can do much to facilitate or hamper progress. If cooperation is finally established, it will not mean that the Russians completely lose the upper hand. If the Western Allies wanted a strictly tripartite regime without anybody on top in Vienna, they should have insisted on a joint Balkan campaign and the consequent liberation of Vienna by the arms of the three Allies. By taking the course they did, they agreed to a "Russian age" in Central Europe which will inevitably affect all Austria. But they still have the chance to make this age, in spite of its predominant color, one of cooperation, in which the factor of military power will gradually retire into the background.

If there is cooperation among the world powers, the western and eastern provinces of Austria will grow together again into a pivotal state which will be so closely interwoven with the destiny of the United Nations that it will be worthy of containing their headquarters. If there is not cooperation, the line between the West and the East will cut straight across the body of Austria, perhaps right through the heart of Vienna. In such an event, the gulf between the two hemispheres of mankind would gape in Austria more terribly than anywhere else. Even then only fatalism would hold that the two halves must be swallowed up in a final catastrophe of this planet, but constructive firmness would be needed to prevent the catastrophe. With this prospect in mind, every decent Austrian will work for cooperation with every ounce of his substance.

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The Anatomy of Full Employment

BY LEO BARNES

A GOOD deal of recent post-war planning is either dominated by wishful thinking or based on the rather reckless use of large, over-all figures of national income, output, or employment. It is not uncommon to find serious surveys of post-war national income *begin* with the assumption of full employment, when the likelihood of full employment after the war should be the very thing to be demonstrated. Similarly, grandiose figures like 60 million jobs, $150 billion national income, and $200 billion gross national product are often airily tossed around with little if any effort to specify the particular items presumably adding up to the impressive totals.

Realistic thinking about jobs after the war calls for much more careful nose-counting. To obtain a reasonable answer to the question, "How are we going to employ a post-war labor force of more than 60 million men and women?" it is first necessary to scrutinize each major industry and occupation with the object of determining its employment potentialities. Only such an examination will enable us to make the distinction which is pivotal to clear thinking about post-war jobs—the distinction between what employment *could* be and what it probably *will* be.

The road to understanding how full employment can be reached a few years after the war must be paved with the knowledge of what employment is likely to be in the immediate post-war period. This article will try to throw some light on the possibilities by illuminating the probabilities. Based on an industry-by-industry employment survey, the evidence it offers is certainly not as spectacular as the highly optimistic or pessimistic deductions found in much post-war planning that has blossomed forth in print. However, it can be far more useful for effective planning to achieve the "economic equivalent of war."

What does this evidence show?

First, it shows that the *immediate* post-war period will be one of moderately high but definitely not full employment. For the first "normal" peace-time year, after demobilization and reconversion adjustments, a realistic employment prospect is about 55.5 million jobs of all kinds. This means unemployment of about 5 million, rather than the 1.5 million assumed in optimistic post-war speculation.

Second, the evidence shows that reducing transition unemployment to 5 million will not be the achievement of private enterprise alone, even if it is aided by a strong replenishment demand for goods. The prognosis of 55.5 million jobs includes more than 7 million persons on the civilian and military pay rolls of the federal and local governments, and several million more in private industry whose jobs directly or ultimately depend on government spending.

Third, the long-run implication of the evidence is that, once the post-war replenishment boomlet subsides, maintaining 55 million jobs will require substantial government planning and intervention in the economy. Correspondingly, to raise employment to 60 million jobs and keep it there will demand even more thoroughgoing government direction of our economic life.

I

The nose-counting on which these conclusions are based is summarized in the two tables on the following page. The method by which the counting was done is explained in Part II. The implications of the nose-counting are analyzed in Part III.

The two tables are not as forbidding as they may at first seem to the non-technical reader. They tell a tale worth the small effort that may be required to use them. Both are studies in comparative anatomy—of the structure of American pre-war, war, and post-war employment. Table I indicates job figures for the seventeen main types of occupation in which working Americans earn their livelihood. Table II is a more detailed breakdown of manufacturing—the largest single field of employment—into twenty-one major industry categories. In each table the five columns show the same relationships.

Column A gives employment figures for the various occupations as computed by the 1940 Census, the most reliable estimate of employment yet made in the United States. Column B looks back through the previous forty years to discover the best pre-war peace-time employment record for each occupation. In those cases in which 1940 was a depressed year for a particular type of business activity, this maximum employment figure serves to indicate the pre-war employment peak for that occupation. As a rule, the closer to 1940 the date next to a figure in Column B the more reliable it is as an indicator of possible post-war employment. Column C portrays the impact of World War II on employment in each of the listed occupations. In most cases employment has been significantly expanded over 1940, but a few less essential occupations show a decline. Taken together, Columns A, B, and C reveal what the maximum employment capacity of each occupation or industry has been up to now. They offer standards by which to judge the figures in Columns D and E.

Column D is a breakdown of what *full employment* would reasonably require in the way of jobs in each occupation. President Roosevelt's and Secretary of Commerce Wallace's objective of 60 million post-war jobs is used as the full employment target because that is the goal in terms of which we are going to be thinking during the next four years. About 11 million more jobs than in 1940 are required to reach this goal. The exact proportion of these 11 million jobs assigned to each type of occupation represents my judgment of the maximum increase in employment in each field under *highly optimistic* assumptions of post-war business activity. Finally, Column E lists my own "guestimates" of what average employment in each category *will probably be* in the first "normal" post-war year. The reasoning on which these estimates are based is explained in Part II.

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TABLE I. THE ANATOMY OF AMERICAN EMPLOYMENT

	A March, 1940, Census figures of employment	B Highest pre-war peace-time employment[1]	C Highest employment in World War II[1]	D Hypothetical employment required for 60 million jobs in 1947-48[2]	E Probable employment in 1947-48[2]
	(Millions of Workers)				
Manufacturing[3]	10.6	11.2 (1940)	17.2 (1943)	*14.7*	*12.4*
Mining	.9	1.3 (1918)	.9 (1943)	*.9*	*.8*
Construction	2.0	3.5 (1926)	2.2 (1942)	*3.7*	*3.2*
Transportation	2.2	2.6 (1920)	2.8 (1944)	*2.8*	*2.5*
Communication	.4	.5 (1929)	.4 (1943)	*.5*	*.4*
Public Utilities	.5	.7 (1929)	.6 (1943)	*.6*	*.5*
Wholesale and Retail Trade	7.5	7.5 (1940)	7.1 (1944)	*8.3*	*7.8*
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	1.5	2.0 (1929)	1.3 (1944)	*1.7*	*1.6*
Business and Repair Services	.9	.9 (1940)	.8 (1944)	*1.0*	*1.0*
Personal Services	4.0	4.0 (1940)	3.5 (1944)	*4.3*	*4.1*
Amusement, Recreation, and Related Service	.4	.4 (1940)	.3 (1944)	*.5*	*.4*
Professional, Educational, etc., Services	3.3	3.3 (1940)	2.7 (1942)	*3.7*	*3.5*
Miscellaneous Private Employment	.7	.7 (1940)	.7 (1944)	*.7*	*.7*
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing	9.5[4]	11.8 (1910)[4]	9.7 (1942)[4]	*10.0*	*9.5*
Gov't Employees Not Elsewhere Classified	1.8	1.8 (1940)	3.8 (1943)	*2.1*	*2.0*
Total Regular Civilian Employment	46.2	46.5 (1929)	54.4 (1943)	*55.5*	*50.5*
Emergency Public Works, etc.	2.7	3.6 (1936)	0	*2.0*	*2.5*
Total Civilian Employment	48.9	48.9 (1940)	54.4 (1943)	*57.5*	*53.0*
Armed Forces	.3	2.0 (1940)	12.2 (1945)	*2.5*	*2.5*
Total Employment	49.2	49.2 (1940)	64.0 (1944)	*60.0*	*55.5*
Total Unemployment	6.2	.5 (1916)	.6 (1944)	*1.5*	*5.0*
Total Labor Force	55.4	55.4 (1940)	64.8 (1944)	*61.5*	*60.5*[5]

TABLE II. DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT

Durable Goods	5.0	5.6 (1940)	10.3 (1943)	*7.8*	*6.4*
Iron and Steel and Their Products	1.3	1.3 (1937)	1.9 (1943)	*1.6*	*1.4*
Electrical Machinery	.4	.5 (1929)	.9 (1943)	*.8*	*.6*
Machinery Other Than Electrical	.7	.7 (1929)	1.6 (1943)	*1.0*	*.8*
Automotive Industries	.6	.7 (1937)	.9 (1943)	*.9*	*.8*
Transportation and Equipment Other Than Automobiles	.3	.3 (1940)	2.6 (1943)	*.7*	*.5*
Non-ferrous Metals and Products	.3	.3 (1940)	.6 (1943)	*.5*	*.4*
Lumber and Timber Basic Products	.6	.9 (1923)	.6 (1942)	*.8*	*.7*
Furniture and Equipment	.4	.4 (1929)	.4 (1942)	*.6*	*.5*
Stone, Clay, and Glass Products	.3	.4 (1926)	.5 (1943)	*.6*	*.5*
Miscellaneous Durable Goods	.1	.1 (1940)	.3 (1943)	*.3*	*.2*
Non-Durable Goods	5.6	5.6 (1937)	6.2 (1943)	*6.9*	*6.0*
Textile Mill Products	1.2	1.2 (1923)	1.2 (1942)	*1.4*	*1.2*
Apparel and Finished Textiles	.8	.9 (1937)	.9 (1943)	*1.0*	*.9*
Leather and Leather Products	.4	.4 (1919)	.4 (1942)	*.4*	*.4*
Food and Kindred Products	1.1	1.1 (1937)	1.2 (1943)	*1.4*	*1.2*
Tobacco Manufactures	.1	.2 (1919)	.1 (1942)	*.1*	*.1*
Paper and Allied Products	.3	.3 (1940)	.3 (1943)	*.4*	*.3*
Printing, Publishing, etc.	.6	.6 (1937)	.6 (1943)	*.7*	*.6*
Chemical and Allied Products	.4	.4 (1940)	.8 (1943)	*.7*	*.6*
Petroleum and Coal Products	.2	.2 (1937)	.1 (1942)	*.3*	*.2*
Rubber Products	.2	.2 (1928)	.2 (1943)	*.2*	*.2*
Miscellaneous Industries	.3	.3 (1940)	.4 (1943)	*.3*	*.3*
Total Manufacturing	10.6	11.2 (1940)	17.2 (1943)	*14.7*	*12.4*

[1] Figures in this column are not to be added to each other because they may refer to different dates. Total unemployment figures are minimums.

[2] 1947 or 1948 is assumed to be the first "normal" peace-time year, depending on the length of the war with Japan. Estimates are averages for the year.

[3] See Table II for detailed breakdown of manufacturing employment.

[4] Average for the year is indicated for agriculture because of wide seasonal disparities in employment.

[5] The total post-war labor force is a million less in Column E than it is in Column D since the more jobs there are available, the higher the potential labor force. This is because, when work is easier to get, the normal labor force is augmented by additional people looking for extra earnings.

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II

How are the results in Column E of the preceding tables derived? The answer to this question will also be an explanation of why I believe the more optimistic figures in Column D will remain a target to shoot at for a long time after the war.

The estimates for 1947-48 are arrived at largely by balancing the chief factors which create additional employment against those which are likely to create unemployment. Five pairs of opposing factors in the tug-of-war to maintain employment were considered:

Employment Creating	*Unemployment Creating*
1. Increase in demand for particular products or services.	Decrease in demand for particular products or services.
2. Adequate supply of all necessary factors of production (the five M's—men, machines, materials, money, and management).	"Bottlenecks" in one or more of the factors of production.
3. Unrestricted competition and ease of new entry in an industry.	Monopolistic and semi-monopolistic conditions in an industry.
4. Reduction in average working time in an occupation.	Increase in average working time.
5. Decrease in productivity in an occupation.	Increase in productivity.

Estimating potential demand for particular products and services (Factor 1) is a good *starting-point* for calculating post-war employment. This is so even though, ordinarily, trying to deduce employment from demand is like a dog chasing its tail. Employment depends on demand, to be sure; but effective demand is also largely determined by the general level of employment. However, because of the huge backlog of demand for many types of both consumers' and producers' goods not available during the war, this approach is, for the immediate post-war period, substantially less fallacious than usual.

Data on prospective post-war demand for different types of goods and services cannot, of course, be immediately translated into employment figures. It is first necessary to answer two other questions: (a) How much of the demand will, in fact, be *satisfied*—that is, become effective demand? (b) To what extent is this effective demand likely to be satisfied *without* increasing employment? These questions are answered by weighing the influence of the other four factors listed above in particular industries and occupations. Limitations of space prevent recapitulating this procedure for each of the thirty-seven major categories of employment. However, an analysis of the automobile industry will illustrate the general technique.

There is little doubt, if only because automobile production will have been suspended for at least four years, that the prospective demand for cars after the war will be unprecedented. Some observers calculate a backlog of demand as high as 23 million automobiles. To be quite conservative, let us say that it is only half that, or about 12 million cars. As now constituted, the industry just does not have the physical capacity to produce that many cars a year (Factor 2). Moreover, members of the industry undoubtedly are not too interested in expanding capacity to make that many vehicles a year. Their motive is simple: why kill off an excellent post-war market in one year?

This brings up Factor 3, the state of competition. The more competitive the relationship among firms in an industry, and the easier it is for new firms to come into it, the more closely will production usually approach the output permitted by theoretical capacity. On the other hand, where internal competition is restricted, or where it is hard, because of technological, financial, or patent difficulties, for newcomers to enter an industry, production is usually kept down—and prices kept up—without technically running afoul of the anti-trust laws. If it were as easy to go into automobile manufacturing as, for instance, into radio manufacturing—for which little more than a soldering iron and a work bench is required—many more automobiles would be produced in 1947-48 than actually will be.

Accordingly, as a result of these two factors—limited capacity and lack of industry enthusiasm for expansion—automobile production immediately after the war will probably not be much more than 6,000,000 cars and 1,500,000 trucks a year.

The next problem is: to what extent can this effective demand be satisfied without increasing employment in the automobile industry? The answer is determined by the adequacy and efficiency of the automobile industry's labor force and productive machinery (Factors 4 and 5). The fact that approximately 600,000 workers could turn out 3,700,000 cars, about 800,000 trucks, and related automobile equipment in 1940, does not mean that 6,000,000 cars, 1,500,000 trucks, and corresponding related equipment would require almost twice that many workers. It is on as simple an error as this that many optimistic forecasts of post-war employment seem to be based.

In the first place, many of the 600,000 workers were not on the job full time in 1940, either on a weekly or on a yearly basis. Probably 4,000,000 to 4,300,000 cars and 1,000,000 trucks could be turned out by about the same labor force just by having everybody work five eight-hour days a week, fifty weeks in the year. In the second place, as output approaches optimum capacity, productivity per worker also rises, even without startling technological innovations. This might account for another 100,000 cars and 50,000 trucks. Finally, technological improvements between 1940 and 1947 will certainly increase output per man-hour. Normally, this type of productivity increase is figured at about 2 per cent per year and would therefore be from 14 to 16 per cent for the period from 1940 to 1947-48. However, because of the interruption in automobile production during the war and the consequent loss of both management and labor "know how," let us be more conservative and assume only about a 10 per cent rise in productivity over the pre-war period.

The interplay of these factors results in totals of between 4,500,000 and 4,800,000 cars and between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000 trucks that can be produced in 1947 or 1948 by approximately the same number of workers that produced 3,700,000 cars and 800,000 trucks in 1940. On the same basis, to turn out 6,000,000 cars, 1,500,000 trucks, and the

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related equipment in 1947 or 1948, only about one-quarter more workers would be needed than in 1940—or fewer than 800,000.*

III

What does all this painstaking nose-counting add up to? What are its implications for post-war thinking?

1. *The size of the probable immediate post-war achievement.* While the estimate of 55.5 millions as the probable total of all types of employment, including public works and the armed forces, in the first "normal" peace-time year is 4.5 million less than 60 million jobs, it is decidedly not pessimistic—for 1947-48. It represents about 6 million more jobs than were ever before available in this country in time of peace. Of course, about one-third of this 6-million-job gain is accounted for by the anticipated growth of the regular armed forces from .3 to 2.5 millions. None the less, the figure of 53 million civilian jobs is about 4 million more than in 1940, our best pre-war employment year, and compares favorably with the war-time peak of 54.4 million civilian workers reached in the winter of 1943.

How is this anticipated advance of 4 million in civilian employment over pre-war levels distributed among various occupations? More than one-quarter of the increase, or about 1.2 million jobs, is attributed to a substantial expansion of construction and housing activity. Expansion of manufacturing industries also accounts for an increase of more than 1 million jobs; but in percentage terms the expected total for 1947-48 is only about 10 per cent more than the 1940 peak, or a much smaller gain than the projected 60 per cent jump in construction employment over 1940. Practically all the rest of the increase in jobs is traced to moderate expansion in trade, transportation, and professional and government employment.

2. *The economic compulsives of 60 million jobs.* The size of our probable post-war initial accomplishment compared to the pre-war record highlights the boldness of the Roosevelt-Wallace target of 60 million jobs. This goal requires 11 million more jobs of all kinds, and about 8.5 million more civilian jobs, than we had in 1940. It calls for at least 3 million more civilian jobs than we had at top war employment in 1943.

To be sure, in terms of over-all percentages, providing 60 million jobs may not seem too tremendous a task; 8.5 million more civilian jobs than the 48.9 millions of 1940 is less than a 20 per cent increase. However, our survey shows that, barring resort to work-sharing through a compulsory and substantial cut in the standard work-week, many types of occupation cannot be expected to contribute this much of an increase. Practically no additional jobs are to be looked for from agriculture, forestry, fishing, or mining. Similarly, only negligible increases are to be expected from public utilities, communications, finance and insurance, and personal and other non-professional services.

The overwhelming bulk of the necessary 8.5 million additional civilian jobs must therefore come from manufacturing, construction, trade, the professions, and government service. These occupations employed about 28 million persons in 1940. They would have to employ at least 36 million to furnish 60 million jobs for the economy as a whole. To the extent that certain of these selected occupations failed to achieve this average increase of about 30 per cent, others would have to make up the deficit. Even if, as the National Association of Manufacturers has predicted, manufacturing employment should for a time jump 25 per cent above pre-war levels, there seems little likelihood that other occupations, except construction, will be able to equal or maintain this pace.

3. *What level of employment could be sustained without government control over the economy?* The implication of the preceding analysis is not defeatism. It is rather that providing 60 million jobs requires considerable government intervention in economic life. Aware of this, both liberal and conservative post-war planners have claimed that a less ambitious goal—ambiguously called "high-level employment"—might be achieved and maintained without such intervention. The evidence of the present survey casts doubt upon even this more modest possibility.

Those who are hopeful about the job-making capacity of private enterprise after the war usually emphasize the role that more than $100 billion in war savings will play in stimulating business. Doubtless the existence of many kinds of demand frustrated by war shortages and partly represented by these billions in war savings will exert strong upward pressure on output and income after the war. However, this pressure will be offset by reconversion and demobilization unemployment, by technological innovations spurred by higher labor costs, and by business reluctance to expand output and thus "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs." Accordingly, while the probabilities point to somewhat higher post-war production and employment figures in most lines than corresponding pre-war peaks, the totals are likely to be well below some of the sensational amounts proclaimed by optimistic economists and business spokesmen.

Of course, replenishment spending after the war will undoubtedly bring ample profits to business and a sort of spotty prosperity to many workers. If the comparatively moderate unemployment that is to be expected in this period can be rotated among enough persons, and if unemployment benefits are more widely available than before the war, the dangerous illusion of the possibility of a smoothly functioning, uncontrolled private-enterprise economy might well prevail again.

4. *What happens after the post-war replenishment boomlet?* This article does not pretend to furnish any clue either to the duration of the replenishment boomlet or to the level of employment in the years following its collapse. However, it is for this more remote period that the author reserves his gravest doubts about the job-creating abilities of the private-enterprise system. Temporarily achieving a high level of employment after five years of durable-goods starvation is no great economic accomplishment. Permanently sustaining that level of employment would be. In the coming replenishment spree our chief intellectual danger will be confusing these two very different goals. Thereby we may forget the basic

* In addition to the specific factors examined in the analysis above, there are, of course, other more general conditions which help determine employment through their influence on the economy as a whole. It has not been possible to consider them here. However, such over-all influences as the current political atmosphere, the prevailing level of wages and prices, the length of the average working day and week, and the impact of taxes on business initiative and investment are not expected to change so markedly that their combined effect will substantially increase or decrease employment by 1947-48.

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economic lesson of our generation—that a huge and complicated economy like ours cannot be run successfully on the laissez faire philosophy of the nineteenth century.

To achieve and maintain full employment in a free society is the challenge confronting the post-war world. Henry Wallace has jestingly remarked that since war brings full employment, America ought to declare a permanent state of war against the Pacific Ocean. This is a grimly humorous way of saying that we must find the full economic equivalent of war if our social system is to survive. In that quest both wishful optimism and unwarranted pessimism—against both of which this article has been directed—are psychological obstacles that must be overcome.

Sustained full employment is neither certain nor impossible in a free society. But it will require far more cooperation among management, labor, and government than we have ever had except in war. The economic equivalent of war will require some, at least, of the economic organization of war. Management and labor in Great Britain, France, and other democracies seem to have learned this lesson. It is to be hoped that their American counterparts will not need another depression to teach them.

Chicago's Un-American Guests

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chicago, May 17

GERALD L. K. SMITH, the somewhat shopworn rabble-rouser from the Middle West, is now seeking to practice on the delegates to the United Nations conference at San Francisco the art he learned in Louisiana's canebrakes as a disciple of Huey Long. The ebullient Mr. Smith, who has ridden a number of different horses in his various attempts to be the man on horseback, is not, however, the only one of his coterie at present kibitzing the conference; he is, as is his wont, merely the loudest. The conference has largely rid Chicago of the nationalists, anti-Semitics, and others of like breed who make it their headquarters. If it were not for the Chicago *Tribune's* daily dose of poison, the old town would not seem the same.

The trek of the hate-mongers to San Francisco, there to advise the assembled delegates to cease and desist, has delayed the investigation by a committee of the Illinois Senate into the mail-order business they conduct on a national scale. The delay, however, will not be more than temporary, and while it is awaiting the return of the principals, the committee intends to put in its time examining a few of the small fry who didn't have the price of a ticket to 'Frisco.

Smith's ultimatum to Senator Vandenberg, who he says will be retired from public life if he returns to Michigan next year with a record "of having approved the savagery of Russia, the imperialism of Britain, and the secret deals of Yalta," is old stuff. Smith has been delivering ultimatums right and left for some time. Both the Democratic and the Republican National Convention received them last summer, but neither paid much attention. In fact, Smith didn't expect them to, any more than he expects conference delegates to take time to listen to him. He's too smart for that. But it goes over big with his followers. His presence at the conference, his ultimatum to Vandenberg, his invitation to the delegates to hear him speak are but material for his next series of speeches. His old theme, largely a philippic against President Roosevelt, no longer serves.

If the investigation ordered by the Illinois Senate without a dissenting vote goes through according to schedule, it will be the first exposé by a public agency of the many anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-United Nations groups which have flooded the country for so long with the product of their poison pens and psychopathic minds. One Ainslee E. Horney of Chicago brought about the Senate's action by sending to the legislators a pamphlet attacking a pending bill for a state Fair Employment Practice Commission as "a Jewish conspiracy to force employers to employ Jews and Jew refugees." Signed "The Hoosier Patriot," the pamphlet gave no indication of its source except for the statement that it had been printed by "The Hoosier Press, P. O. Box 32, Hammond, Ind." The Chicago *Sun* promptly exposed "The Hoosier Patriot" as none other than Horney, a North Side Chicagoan with a long record of anti-Semitism. So far as the newspaper could discover, Horney makes his living, which appears to be a pretty good one, dispensing hate in one form or another.

After the *Sun* had published its findings, the Senate determined to go into the matter more comprehensively. A resolution presented by Senator Richard J. Daley, Democratic minority leader, and adopted unanimously authorizes an investigation into anything and everything un-American in the state of Illinois and gives the investigating committee the power of subpoena. Lieutenant Governor Hugh Cross, a Republican, promptly appointed a committee of five, three Republicans and two Democrats. The committee chose Senator Daley, a minority member, as chairman.

If the Daley committee goes all the way down the line, it has a big job cut out, one that may expose to public view not only the scores of small fry who purvey hate and scurrilities but also the Thyssens who provide the cash for their sordid activities. It may also demonstrate what many have long suspected—an interlocking directorate of racial agitators, extreme isolationists, and some subversive groups.

Powerful influences are already at work to keep the committee from doing more than merely scratch the surface. Daley, however, a young Irishman from back o' the yards, as the Chicagoans say, is not one to be easily scared. He is a lawyer who grew up in the rough and tumble of politics in

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the stockyards district. He is a fighter. And he appears to be honestly concerned over the damage done by the "lunatic fringe" not only in aggravating racial problems in America but in fanning the isolationist elements now poised for an attack upon the results of the San Francisco conference.

By following Horney's trail the committee will come across many another agitator small and big. The Hoosier Patriot, for example, is an associate of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, author of "The Red Network," and of other defendants in the recent Washington sedition trial. He is an associate of Charles Hudson, who contributes to the *Gentile News,* a monthly tabloid of hate and innuendo published at 30 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, by Eugene R. Flitcraft, whose nefarious Gentile Cooperative Association recently lost its state charter. The court, in revoking the charter, described the association as similar to the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, and "other subversive groups." The *Gentile News,* which features the recently inaugurated "Nationalistic News Service" of Gerald L. K. Smith, also carries advertisements for Horney's Hoosier Press, which has produced several virulent anti-Semitic works.

The Horney trail leads also to Earl Southard, secretary of the Citizens' U. S. A. Committee, a rabidly isolationist outfit headed by Captain William J. Grace. Southard, it is known, aided Horney in establishing the "blind" at Hammond, Indiana, the supposed headquarters of the Hoosier Press. An investigation disclosed that the only tangible evidence of the press in that city is Post Office Box 32. Inevitably Mrs. Lyrl Van Hyning, president of the hysterical "We, the Mothers" group, will be brought into the investigation. Her organization countered the Big Three's demands for unconditional surrender of the Axis with pleas for a negotiated peace.

Many similar organizations have made Chicago their headquarters—anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-United Nations, or all three. For it is a peculiarity of these groups that while they specialize in one particular form of hate, they exclude few prejudices of any kind. At a meeting of one of the better-organized groups, you can usually obtain the literature of several others. With diatribes against the Jews are distributed copies of Gerald L. K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag,* of Charles Hudson's *America in Danger,* or perhaps of We, the Mothers' publication, the *Women's Voice.* The *Broom,* an anti-Semitic sheet published at San Diego, California, is given out with the *National Record,* the literary effort of former Senator Robert Reynolds.

Though it has been described as the "Munich of America" because it harbors so many hate-mongering groups, Chicago is not strongly affected by them: the city gave President Roosevelt an overwhelming plurality last November, one sufficiently large to overcome the adverse vote in other parts of the state. The organizations in question simply use Chicago as headquarters; they pour their literature chiefly into the hinterland of America, where it seems to be more potent. That is why the investigation the Daley committee has embarked on has national significance. If it can uncover the sources of the funds used by these groups, if it can demonstrate the interlocking directorate, and if it can bring the Führers, the real ones, not the noisy ones, into public view, it may succeed in purging American life of some of its most unwholesome elements.

In the Wind

JOHN O'DONNELL, Washington columnist of the New York *Daily News,* on April 25 defended the acquittal of three drunken men, two of them privates A.W.O.L., who set fire to the packing shed of an American farmer of Japanese descent, on the ground that "this is a white man's country." The acquittal, said O'Donnell, reflects "the honest thought of the people." The editors of the *News,* however, apparently didn't think so; for after the first edition that paragraph disappeared from the column and was replaced by a picture of Sir Anthony Eden and Sir Alexander Cadogan.

THIRTY-FOUR BILLS for tax-supported health-insurance programs have been introduced in the legislatures of twenty states thus far this year. Only sixty-six such bills were introduced in the ten-year period 1935-44.

ARGENTINE MOTORISTS, the only ones in the Western Hemisphere who still drive on the left side of the road, will move to the right June 10. Does this represent another triumph for our State Department?

"WHAT GOOD," asks the London *New Statesman and Nation* of April 21, "can come of a non-fraternization order which is said to have been defined by an American commander who told his troops that they might spend the night with a German girl but must not stay for breakfast?"

PRINTERS' INK, an advertising trade publication, reports in its issue of May 11 that Northwestern newspapers are now carrying twice the usual number of war-time ads offering homes for sale. It estimates that 15,000 war workers have left the region within the last three months.

WHY WE FIGHT—from the Charlotte, North Carolina, *Observer* of May 13: "The three billion Russians a year who used to see movies before the war don't know Van Johnson. Or Ruth Hussey, Betty Hutton, or June Allyson, for that matter. Why, it's enough to make a movie fan wonder what in the world Russia is fighting for!"

TAMMANY HALL has retained the public-relations firm of Russell H. Potter Associates, not only for the coming mayoralty campaign but on a continuing basis. The old Tammany regulars are said to be greatly disturbed by the fact that Mr. Potter is a Republican and a resident of Connecticut. He will try to erase the word "Tammany" from the public consciousness—he wants people to call it the "New York County Democratic Committee."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: The House Appropriations Committee is seriously considering a $500,000 cut in the appropriation of the National Labor Relations Board for 1946. Also three riders which would protect collusive contracts with company unions and prohibit the use of NLRB funds in cases involving foremen or food-processing workers.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*]

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France at This Moment

Its Role at the Conference

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

San Francisco, May 17

THE fourth week of the conference has formally re-established France as a great power. The "Big Four" has become the "Big Five," and the "in due course" clause of the Dumbarton Oaks draft, which might have delayed the seating of France as a permanent member of the Security Council, was deleted "amid the enthusiastic applause of the committee in charge of constructing the World Charter"—according to the committee's own communiqué. Those who grieved with France in its years of trial will join in the applause.

But once that has been said, an objective analysis of the role played by France in the conference seems indispensable. France is far too important for future developments in Europe to limit comment to a simple statement of congratulation.

The position of France at the conference was not easy. Right or wrong, it had refused to become a sponsoring power. And from the day its delegation arrived, it was evident that it did not wish to seek a position which it had declined of its own free will. Not being a sponsoring power, it did not feel like taking the initiative on any of the controversial issues arising out of the Yalta meeting. The delegation hinted in a passing remark that had France been taken into the confidence of the Big Three at the Crimea parley, it might have provided a solution for the difficult Polish question. It was not stated what the French proposal might have been. With the primary objective of becoming, as rapidly as possible, a member of the "Big Five," the French delegation firmly adopted a course that would not antagonize the United States, Great Britain, or Russia. China, the remaining big power, had taken a similar attitude. France gave battle, therefore, on a problem of secondary importance having no explosive content. The question of making the French language an official language of the conference could not be resented by anyone. After all, those delegates who might not wish to sit through the monotony of translations were perfectly free to leave the room. It was a small easy victory, but it apparently made the French delegation very happy.

All would have proceeded smoothly if the question of the admission of Argentina had not come up to shake the delegation's decision not to take sides on matters which did not affect France directly. But Molotov's opposition to the admission of a fascist Argentina, before the charges against it, beginning with those of the United States, had been cleared up, did upset the program of the French. In the meeting of the steering committee M. Bidault sat by in discreet silence as the discussion became heated until a direct question put by the Russian first delegate, "Has the Foreign Minister of France nothing to say?" forced him to speak a few hesitating words. His hesitation became more evident and even more painful in the public session. M. Bidault abstained from voting on Mr. Molotov's motion for a delay in the invitation to Argentina. But once the motion had been turned down, M. Bidault voted for admission. It was a bad moment for all of us who had been spiritually on the side of the French during the magnificent epic of the resistance.

Among those who deeply regretted this scene was surely M. Bidault himself. Of all the delegation chiefs seated at the conference, he was the only one who had come directly from the resistance. From 1941 to 1944 Georges Bidault had been one of the most courageous fighters against the Nazis. He undertook missions of extreme risk and inspired such confidence that he was named chief of the National Resistance Council of France. He was no last-minute anti-fascist. In his newspaper *l'Aube* (the *Dawn*), during the Spanish war, he had attacked the policy of non-intervention and had denounced Munich as the suicide of the Western democracies. His group of Catholic Democrats had a more courageous and consistent foreign policy than the Radical Socialists. He has not changed. Before he left San Francisco I talked to him at length, and enjoyed the subtlety of his thinking, his sincerity when he warned against the belief that fascism is dead and the fascist threat a bad dream of the past. He is as intelligent as he is honest. But he follows a policy that was decided upon in Paris, and he carries it forward with the loyalty natural in a man of his stature, without giving any sign of dissent. That policy, as I have said, has as its supreme goal the assurance for France of the position of a great power. The key to the whole situation is found in that policy.

Wherever the French delegation could take a progressive position without embarrassing the Anglo-Saxon powers, it has done so. The delegation expressed disapproval of the steering committee's decision not to permit the World Trade Union Congress to participate in an advisory capacity in the work of the conference. It used that opportunity to point out that France was in favor of inviting to the conference not only inter-governmental organizations but also those great international organizations which speak for the people.

In the third committee, the one charged with the formulation of measures to insure the decisions of the Security Council, Paul Boncour vigorously pressed his old demand for the organization of an international force which, if it had been authorized at Geneva in 1932 by the Disarmament Conference, might have stopped the aggressors in time. On several other questions the French delegates have taken a genuinely progressive stand. But as soon as they realized the British position on colonies, they put back into their pockets the only really revolutionary idea they had brought to San Francisco—the plan for a federal empire. Under this plan

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a French Union would replace the French empire, and millions of French colonials would gain French citizenship. Each colony would be given a considerable degree of autonomy and have its own parliament. The presentation of this new colonial policy at San Francisco would have been sensational. An impressive document of more than twenty pages was ready to be published. But the contrast between this plan and the farce presented at the conference, beginning with the silly trick of calling mandates trusteeships, would have been too extreme; and René Pleven, French Minister of Finance and National Economy, decided that its submission at this moment would be inopportune.

Talking intimately and off the record, French delegates explain that France has no alternative but to try to get along with the two big Anglo-Saxon powers until its international position becomes stronger. They point out that while nominally since the Crimea parley France has been one of the Big Five, all the problems of the occupation of Germany were decided without it. Only at the last moment Bidault received assurances from Secretary Stettinius in regard to its claim to occupy the left bank of the Rhine and its demand for a ban on the reconstruction of the Krupp factories, which have armed all German armies of the past. The same holds true for the Pacific. The French have four divisions ready to go to the Pacific, but their repeated requests have been turned down by the Allied combined chiefs of staff. This may be merely a consequence of the ambiguity still prevailing as to the geographical limits of the respective commands of Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, Allied commander-in-chief in Southwest Asia, and General Albert C. Wedemeyer, American commander in China, since Indo-China lies in a doubtful area between the two. But the French are sensitive and easily attribute a suspicious motive to any obstacle imposed by the other great powers. It was difficult for the American delegation to convince the French that Indo-China was considered a part of the French empire, and that the United States did not dream of appropriating this territory. The mere fact that Marshal Smuts, about a year and a half ago, questioned the capacity of France to become a great power again has made him, in the eyes of the French, the most hated man after the Germans. We thought then that the Marshal was wrong, but the French reaction seems a little exaggerated.

Our French friends should keep in mind that today France is great in the eyes of the world not because of the empire, or its place in the Security Council, but because of its splendid rebirth after Nazi occupation, its repudiation of Vichy treason, and its leadership in the struggle for liberation. Jean-Jacques Mayoux was right when, in the middle of the battle, while still in North Africa, he wrote in *Franc Tireur* of the "Jacobin greatness" of France. The real greatness of France speaks in the voice of the resistance, and it is that voice we missed in San Francisco. We do not ask France to become the *enfant terrible,* the trouble-maker, of the conference, the leader of a bloc of small nations, as some wanted. But we had hoped that what has happened in France in the last four terrible years would find some form of expression in San Francisco. If the delegation had spoken for the French resistance, it would have spoken at the same time for all the liberated peoples of Europe.

Paul Boncour said to me, "We are a devastated country." René Pleven let figures speak: "The war damage in France amounts to twenty billion works hours, representing two million men working for four full years." But the reconstruction can also be accomplished under the banner of resistance, with the spirit which inspired the struggle and made France rise again with unbelievable rapidity. The French people understood it that way. While the resistance is not heard in San Francisco, in France itself the people voted in its favor. Eighty-five per cent of the municipal council posts went to the resistance. Among those most surprised were many of the French delegates themselves. But at least one of them, the Communist Minister François Billoux, knew better. He had expressed to me his certainty that the left would win by a strong margin. More surprised and surely more disappointed must have been the distinguished gentlemen of the Quai d'Orsay who hurry through the lobby of the St. Francis Hotel. They were supposed to have been swept away in the tremendous political upheaval of 1939, but they have reappeared, aggressive and complacent, speaking as they did eight years ago of "political realism." Do they mean perhaps the political realism of the Daladier government, which led to the débâcle of 1940?

In their elections the people of France have said what their foreign policy must be. They have corrected the mistake made at San Francisco. Some people will say these were only municipal elections. But in Spain it was the municipal elections of 1931 that brought about the fall of the monarchy and the formation of a republic. General de Gaulle at least has understood. In his speech of May 15, two days after the second balloting, he did not end with the habitual, "Long Live France." He added, "Long live the Republic! Long live the Resistance!"

The Elections Interpreted

BY JULES MOCH

Paris, April 22

THE men and women of France have voted. No woman, and no man under twenty-nine, had ever cast a vote before—younger men were not yet twenty-one at the time of the last elections. Taking into account the million men in the armed forces, who in France have no vote, and the more than two million prisoners and political and Jewish deportees still to be liberated, that means that three-quarters of the electoral body came to the polls without previous voting experience. It seemed scarcely possible that this large number of novices, voting under unusual and difficult conditions, could get the democratic machine in motion again after eight years of disuse. Everything went smoothly, however, and no incidents were reported.

Certain groups had feared that the women, far more than the men, would be influenced by the Catholic church or swayed by emotional appeals. Their fears were groundless. There was no increase in the proportion of clerical votes. In some communities special ballot boxes were set up for the women, and there it was seen that they voted much like the men. French women voted not as women but according to their class and environment.

The whole electoral body displayed the political maturity

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of the old French democracy; four years of Nazi propaganda had had no effect.

With the exception of Paris, where proportional representation was tried out for the first time, the municipal elections were conducted by the old double-balloting system; unless a candidate received a clear majority on the first ballot, a second was taken. The number of candidates varied from ten to thirty-six depending on the size of the commune. In former elections if the first balloting was indecisive two friendly parties would join forces and present a combined slate for the second. This year a strong sense of unity prevailed from the outset as the result of the common underground struggle. The Communist Party astutely seized on this fact to propose that in advance of the first balloting common resistance slates be drawn up, known as the "Listes d'Union Patriotique, Républicaine, et anti-Fasciste," or U. P. R. A., which would include representatives of all the parties and movements belonging to the National Council of Resistance. Its aim was threefold: to symbolize and cement the unity of the resistance forces, to present a strong united front against any fascist or reactionary offensive, and to gain seats in municipalities where it had no chance to win under its own banner.

The Socialist Party, on the other hand, recommended that wherever possible its various local groups run a straight Socialist ticket. It had no fears about the reactionary threat and felt that the party should go before the electorate under its own name at the first balloting, basing its appeal on a program more concrete and revolutionary than the minimum common plan first proposed by the National Council of Resistance in March, 1944, when France was still occupied by the Germans.

This divergence of views produced an infinite number of combinations. In most cities the Socialists presented straight party tickets; and in many places so did the Radicals and the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (a new Catholic party which includes both reformist progressives and social conservatives). In these cases, the U. P. R. A. slate consisted almost entirely of Communists or representatives of various pro-Communist organizations—Front National, Union des Femmes, Secours Populaire, Forces Unies de la Jeunesse Patriotique, etc.—or, here and there, of Communist-line trade unionists. Elsewhere very strange alliances were observed, the U.P.R.A. list containing, in addition to Communist candidates, Radicals, Catholics, and moderates; these represented a real anti-Socialist coalition.

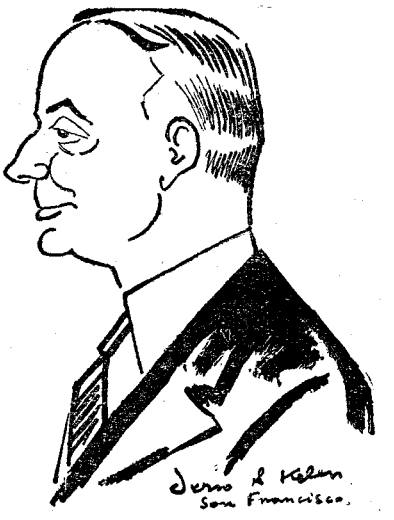
In some regions, particularly in the villages, Socialists ran on the U. P. R. A. ticket. In others they allied themselves with various resistance groups—either Radical or, in rare instances, Catholic—against the Communists and their sympathizers. In still others Socialists and Communists formed a common extreme-left slate against the Radicals, Catholics, and moderates.

In the six Paris districts, where proportional representation and a single ballot were initiated, all parties offered straight tickets, determined to stand or fall on party lines.

Despite this confused welter of candidacies, the voters gave a clear expression of their will.

1. A tremendous majority voted left. The Popular Front of 1935-36 won an incontestable victory, with this single reservation—its Socialist and Communist elements were increased at the expense of the Radicals.

2. The conservative right, led by Louis Marin, and the moderates of the center, represented by Paul Reynaud, showed a marked loss of strength and in certain regions actually disappeared, many of their members voting for the new Mouvement Républicain Populaire. The M. R. P. gained a number of seats and appears on the way to becoming the big moderate party, despite the fact that certain of its leaders incline toward extremist solutions of social issues.



Foreign Minister Bidault

3. The Radicals, as I have said, lost ground, except at Lyon, where the strong personality of Herriot maintains the party's prestige. The voting made it clear that the Socialists have gained power at their expense in the rural communes, which formerly were radical strongholds.

4. In several industrial cities, notably in the coal basin of the Pas-de-Calais, the Communists cut into the Socialist vote slightly, but the Socialists made up this loss in the industrial regions of the Midi, formerly Radical.

5. The non-political resistance movements were defeated where they opposed candidates of political parties. The Frenchman remains true to his old party ties. None the less, the elections were a victory for the resistance on two counts: first, almost all the political candidates were at the same time members of the resistance; and second, wherever the political parties and the resistance movement had drawn up a common ticket, the ticket was victorious, with the result that many mayors named by the resistance at the time of liberation were returned to office by a unanimous vote.

6. The elections were actually a vote of confidence for De Gaulle, whose popularity has not diminished. But the vote was more a vote of gratitude to "the first resistant of France" than of approval for the work of the Provisional Government. It indicated the country's desire for a ruthless purge, a bold and rigorous policy toward big business, and the socialization of banking and basic industries. The temper of France is openly revolutionary. Let the government take notice. Logically the first consequence of the elections should be an increase in the number of left Ministers and the swift start of social reforms.

These are not the conclusions of a partisan. Except for Nice and St. Etienne, where the results are not yet known, all the large cities of France voted left. Paris turned in Communist and Socialist majorities. Marseille, Bordeaux, and Toulouse went Socialist. Lille has a Socialist Council. Nantes voted for a U. P. R. A. ticket predominantly Communist; Lyon for a U. P. R. A. ticket with a Radical slant.

The people of France have spoken. The government must adjust its policies to conform to their will.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

A CORRESPONDENT who found satisfaction in my dissection of "The Robe" went on to say that the movie "Music for the Millions" needed the same sort of "biting review." A bit later, under duress, I saw it and wondered again how anyone could stop holding his nose long enough to produce, take part in, or do the camera work on such a picture. In particular I wondered how José Iturbi, who might be presumed to have some respect for music and for symphony orchestras, could collaborate in a venture which makes a travesty of both. His is a truly shocking performance. Margaret O'Brien is not to be held responsible, I suppose, considering her age. One can only groan at the sickening misuse of an extraordinary child with an extraordinary talent. As for the strong infusion of religious propaganda, that is no doubt to be set down as another triumph for the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

And what of the public that takes such trash lying down? As I say, I went under duress—from a thirteen-year-old. She was very angry with me when I expressed my disgust. Yet her own passive acceptance was shattered by three or four elementary questions which movie-goers apparently do not ask. At least not out loud.

The passivity of American movie audiences, and of American crowds in general, is to me a very depressing thing. On the afternoon of V-E Day I made my way to Times Square. After all, I found myself thinking, victory comes but once every twenty-five years. It was anything but gay—but of course by that time a sound truck was circulating with the announcement that this was not V-E Day. The paper scraps had been thrown hours before and now were dirty underfoot. The light of the sun breaking through the overcast sky was pale and wan and very unbecoming to the milling faces of a crowd which had brought, one felt, a burden of inertness which it hoped to have lifted. Street-cleaners were closing in; bored policemen were directing people to keep to the sidewalk and being obeyed. When a photographer appeared on the roof of the Astor marquee, a crowd gathered and looked up at him hopefully as if asking for the excitement they had come to find and had somehow missed. When it was not forthcoming, they went limp again. I can't help feeling that the inertness of most city crowds—and perhaps rural ones too—must be related to the fact that more and more people are becoming more and more dependent on having their fun made for them by mass-entertainment industries. Those passive, amorphous faces in Times Square might have been composition faces made of the same processed stuff as the gadgets and the movies and the magazines and the books of mass production.

IF WE ARE GOING to be technical about what you saw on the Capitol grounds," writes Mary W. Janes from Washington, "they were *Allium canadense* (wild garlic), not wild onions (*Allium tricoccum*). And the bulb is lovely garlic."

A PUBLISHER called me the other day to inquire about a likely translator, and we exchanged a few remarks on the whole sorry question of translations. A good translator is as rare as hen's teeth. He must be thoroughly at home in two languages and he must know how to write himself. But few people who qualify wish to spend their time on other people's books at any price, and the market rate for translation is ridiculously low.

And there are other hazards. A publisher reads a translation which seems to him excellent. When he has a job to be done, he calls in the translator whose work he has admired. He gets a script so badly written that one of his own editors has to rewrite it. Later on he meets the editor who rewrote the first translation, and they have a good cry together. But meanwhile the so-called translator, on the strength of a second excellent rendering, is busy concocting another mess for another publisher.

Some time ago I got a reprint of an amusing article on The Way of the Translator by Max Nomad, in the *American Mercury*, which touches on this point, among others. "A phony in the literary translation game," he writes, "can go on undiscovered for years; his victims are even less expert bilingually than he, and the notoriously docile average reader, finding himself baffled by a passage, will blame his own ignorance rather than suspect . . . the translator. . . ." Mr. Nomad then cites some of the great boners of translation history. The most amusing is the one contained in this famous passage: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." I quote Mr. Nomad:

> The idea of a camel going through the eye of a needle was incongruous and striking. There was, however, no reference to that animal in the Greek original of the Gospel, which merely spoke of the difficulty a *rope* would have in passing through the eye of a needle. The Greek equivalent of rope is *kamilos*. But it so happens that another Greek word, spelled *kamelos*, means camel.

I RECENTLY RECEIVED, for the first time in many months, an issue of the *Countryman*, the little green English magazine which "comes from the country." It has lost weight. It is only a quarter as thick as it used to be, but it has not changed otherwise. It contains the usual pot-pourri of lore, ancient and modern, and gives the same delightful impression of having been thrown together willy-nilly between trips to the pasture or the stable to attend to matters more important than editing. It opens with an item entitled simply Goose by D. B. Wyndham Lewis. And it really is about geese, Mr. Lewis's own flock.

> Anybody can look up the form of the Embden-Toulouse goose in the textbooks [he writes]. They give you facts about incubation, plumage, depth of breast, diet, egg-power, and so forth; they do not touch on the essential goose. It is rather as if you looked up Dante in the encyclopedia and found "Mediterranean type, Florentine (Alighieri) breed and markings; 5 ft. 9 in., weight 13 st. 9 lb.; features aquiline and complexion sallow; addicted

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to politics and poetry," and nothing more. The Embden-Toulouse . . . is a goose of rich personality, charm, and a certain moral force.

Here are a few of the other titles: Oldest Inhabited House, (with photographs), The Ministry of Food's Neglect, Winter Caravanning, Cormorants and Shags, Straw Boots. There is also a piece on The Burning of Margaret Og which gives some statistics on the cost of disposing of witches:

> The cost of burning two persons included twenty loads of peats 40*s.*, "ane Boill of Coillis" (a boll of coals) 23*s.*, four tar barrels 26*s.* 8*d.*, "fire and iron" barrels 16*s.* 8*d.*, "a staik and dressing of it" 16*s.*, four fathom of tow 4*s.*, carriage of the foregoing 13*s.* 4*d.*, and to the executioner another 13*s.* 4*d.*

NOTES ON THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE (continued): When General Eisenhower responded to an ovation in a London theater he said: "I wonder if you people realize what it means to me to be back among friends, among people whose language I can almost speak."

Democratic Faith and Puritan Piety

PURITANISM AND DEMOCRACY. By Ralph Barton Perry. The Vanguard Press. $5.

EVIDENCES are multiplying of a healthy reaction against over-simple historical interpretations of ideas. By the latter I refer to those interpretations which explain a great many things about ideas except what it is in their meanings that enables one set of ideas, rather than another, to exercise historical influence. Any social interpretation of an intellectual movement should at least exhibit an analytic grasp of its central ideas. For only then can assertions that these ideas "express" the interest of this group or that be intelligible.

None the less, there are certain dangers to be guarded against in approaching ideas in history primarily from the standpoint of their logical nexus. Ideas play a role in history not by virtue of their logical implications but by virtue of our *perception* of implications. What is implied is always broader than what is perceived. Selective interest quickens perception and reinforces the willingness of human carriers to act upon ideas. *We* may see certain connections between ideas which those who uttered them were unaware of; *they* may have understood them in a way which a purely logical analysis will not reveal. When we read back our current analysis and interpretation into the past and make a plausible logical case in the present for a view propounded long ago, we may unconsciously be distorting the actual historical and psychological significance the ideas in question had. By using the theory of relativity a great contemporary philosopher has even argued that Galileo and his persecutors were both scientifically justified.

Professor Perry's "Puritanism and Democracy" is a good illustration of the virtues and defects of a primarily logical analysis of historical ideas. The book is an impressive, full-bodied study of the influence and interplay of the ideas of puritanism and democracy in American life. It defends the thesis that we owe what is most distinctive in our culture today to continuing traditions derived from the moral and religious ideas of seventeenth-century puritanism and the social and political ideas of eighteenth-century democracy. At the same time it is an essay in vindication of their essential meaning as enduringly valid against all known alternatives. It presents an illuminating analysis of the theoretical conceptions central to these two intellectual movements. In effect, therefore, Professor Perry has written a history of certain ideological currents in American life and a philosophical treatise in defense of democracy, which toward the end suddenly blossoms forth as "Christian democracy."

The book possesses very substantial merits. It is written with clarity and a certain verve that sustain the reader through almost seven hundred pages of close print. The material reflects a wide, if not very discriminating, reading. Since Professor Perry's gifts are primarily philosophical, he is at his best in dealing with ideas as theorems related to other theorems. But he has many shrewd things to say about people and what moves them as they seek their way in affairs that are not ideal. Some of his insights into the human heart are very penetrating. Although without the genius and sparkle, they are in the spirit of William James. There is a kindliness in his judgments of men and movements—even those of which he is most critical—which betokens a will to understand. The analysis of the nature and presuppositions of democracy will take high rank in the literature of the subject. The author has an authentic feeling for what democracy involves, not only as a scheme of political arrangements, but in the relationships of human beings to each other. He takes his stand uncompromisingly on democracy as a moral ideal.

The basic limitation of Professor Perry's work lies in a profound methodological error of historical interpretation. This consists in dissolving what is historically specific about a doctrine into its more general elements, evaluating the latter without reference to the former, and then identifying the essence of the doctrine with the general elements. The specific elements then become extrinsic historical expressions of the underlying general ones. It is a fallacy, as Professor Perry notes, to identify the nature of a thing with its specific or distinctive character. A man is not merely rational. But surely it is just as fallacious to overlook or play down the distinguishing character which sent us on the quest for explanation. This is precisely what Professor Perry does when he evaluates puritanism. It is dissolved into a form of Protestantism, Protestantism into Christianity, and Christianity into a species of ethical culture. This makes an embarrassingly large number of people essentially Puritans.

Professor Perry is aware of all the evils and errors in Puritan theory and practice, but they are transformed into historical idiosyncrasies of essential qualities. Thus, the Puritan's rigorism and fanaticism are deplored because of their historical effects; but after all they express recognition of the abiding importance of moral principles. The Puritan's hatred of the body was injurious and unaesthetic, but, for all its excesses this attitude represents the discovery that deadly evil may lurk in apparent good, that the indulgence of the senses may actually be a form of imprudence. Historically, Puritan piety sanctifies the values of capitalism; the essential truth embodied here is that every well-organized society requires thrift, industry, sobriety, and self-discipline. "It is indispensable to any society that men should keep their promises." In practice,

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puritanism was a theocracy, but the Puritan theocracy "exemplified the truth that a community requires some form of moral cohesiveness."

Not a single feature of Puritan ruthlessness, cruelty, and superstition is blinked by Professor Perry; it is simply transmuted into a limited historical expression of the life of reason. Even Cotton Mather's spiritual prescription for the cure of toothache is not immune to this treatment. Cotton Mather, racked by toothache, regards his pain as divine punishment for having sinned with his teeth, "by sinful, graceless, excessive Eating, and by evil Speeches." He resolves upon repentance, prayer, and discipline to cure himself. The only disease the Puritans could treat, Professor Perry reminds us, was sin. Consequently physical evils like toothache were translated into "symptoms" of sin. This, he admits, historically hindered the quest for effective remedies. None the less, "the Puritan is to be credited with a recognition, however misapplied, of the broad principle that the first and sometimes the last step in the correction of evil is sound diagnosis." He got in the way of scientific medicine, but that was a historical blunder. He really was on its side. By the time Professor Perry is through refining the ideal or essential form of Puritanism from its historical dross, we cannot help concluding that Aristotle, Epicurus, and Professor Perry himself were much better Puritans than the Puritans of the seventeenth century. The latter tried their best, but the historical circumstances were too much for them.

This technique of reinterpretation is masterly: the trouble with it is that it can vindicate ideas, institutions, and movements hostile to the enlightened secularism in whose behalf Professor Perry uses it. M. Maritain, for example, has argued that when we punish a man for criminal political *actions*, we are doing in our own way what the Inquisition did in its day when it burned and tortured a heretic merely because of his *ideas*. Both represent essentially an effort to preserve necessary order and unity in the community! How they did it and what they regarded as "order" are not essential differences.

Professor Perry's interpretation of puritanism is a piece of sincere but completely unnecessary apologetics in a good cause. The good cause is democracy. We are exhorted to embrace a refined puritanism as a symbol of democratic piety because of the kinship of essential doctrines between them and the ties of historical influence. As to the actual historical effects of puritanism on the growth of democracy, Professor Perry admits that the question is complicated. He does not settle it on the basis of empirical historical data but reverts once again to the coincidences and sympathies of doctrine. On the historical side, a few good case studies would seem to me to be much more decisive than reams of dialectical exegesis in helping us to determine whether those who were markedly under the influence of Puritan thought helped or obstructed the development of democratic institutions and practices in America. For example, who led and who opposed the movement for the Bill of Rights amendments to the Constitution, and what were their doctrinal affiliations? Surely, in answering questions of historical connection the actual behavior of social groups is more important than their ritualistic talk, significant as that may be.

As for doctrine—the deepest and most fundamental bond between puritanism and democracy, according to Professor Perry, was "their common respect for the human individual" and their common belief in "the dignity of man." There is as much warrant for coupling puritanism and democracy on these grounds as for coupling Mormonism or Catholicism with democracy. It overlooks the tremendous difference between a theological doctrine which referred to men's supernatural souls and a secular democratic attitude to men as natural human beings. From the theological doctrine of the dignity and eternal worth of human souls, and their equality before God, nothing necessarily followed, in logic or fact, about their democratic status in this world. This doctrine was compatible with different types of social order and with different modes of treatment of Indians and Negroes, baptized or not. The democratic philosophy, on the other hand, in prescribing equal treatment in relevant respects for all men, pointed unmistakably to the political and social paths that had to be taken by those who seriously professed it. Both doctrines in a sense may be called doctrines of salvation. But the first sought only to save men from the corruption of sin; the second from the corruptions of ignorance, poverty, and tormenting pain which unfortunately may still be present when sin is absent. To treat them as Professor Perry does is to confuse two different universes of discourse.

Moving on an entirely different plane is Professor Perry's analysis of the meaning of democracy. Here eloquence is the voice of reason. Distinctions have relevance and point. Many sentences have epigrammatic wisdom. "A democracy of opportunity must be at the same time a democracy of personal esteem." He shows convincingly that the logic of democracy is pledged to a just and humane international order, that it is based on no metaphysical or religious dogmas, that it must "permit and protect" *all* religions which are not actively intolerant of other cults, religious or secular. After doing this, he calls it "Christian democracy"! Why not Confucian democracy?

The weaknesses of this last part are primarily those of omission. But they do not mar the brilliance of the analysis. As it stands it is a persuasive statement of the validity of democracy as against its rivals and alternatives. It would have been strengthened by a detailed reply to modern critics of democracy like Michels and Pareto, who argue that democrats may be victorious but democracy never, to others who argue that democracy is too good for men, and to those who affirm, from Plato to Santayana, that expert knowledge alone gives a right to rule. Allied to this omission is the failure to consider the chief problem of modern democracy—the relation between economic planning and political freedom. But perhaps this is just as well. For whenever Professor Perry dwells on concrete material, his touch is uncertain. He has an unerring eye for the democratic implications of words and documents; but he is blind to the fact that they are sometimes used to conceal historical actualities rather than to report them. I shall not discuss his few remarks on Soviet Russia, of which he says that it has gathered strength "from a growth of liberality (!) and industrial freedom (!)." From a naivete—perhaps one should use a stronger word—so complete as this the only charitable thing to do is to turn one's eyes away. Let us hope he will not try to prove that Russia, too, is a "Christian democracy."

In conclusion, Professor Perry's book is important, chal-

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lenging, and uneven. No one will be satisfied with all of it. But it has something for everybody. It is both a thesaurus of democratic thought and an arsenal of democratic defense. It shows not only a love of ideas but a recognition that they count in history. But it does not adequately explain why they count and how.

SIDNEY HOOK

VERSE CHRONICLE

Auden and Others

IT APPEARS that Auden is trying to purge himself of the literary play boy, the too willing collaborator, the adventurer in shady forms of modernism, indeed all the ingratiating but facile alter egos which once prompted John Crowe Ransom to declare him—if I remember the phrase—"the wittiest and most far gone of modern poets." As "For the Time Being" recently showed, Auden is now at pains to curtail the vaudevillian extravagance of his long poems. And in a preface to his "Collected Poetry" (Random House, $3.75) he modestly classifies his past work as, first, "the pure rubbish" which he "regrets ever having conceived"; second, "the good ideas" which "incompetence or impatience prevented from coming to much"; third, the pieces he has "nothing against except their lack of importance"; and last, the few poems for which "he is honestly grateful."

To judge by the contents of the "Collected Poetry," Auden regards as rubbish, or something like it, the longer works of his early period. Without exception he bans from this book the fantastic dramas of his youth; and of "The Orators" he retains only a few fragments. (I doubt that "Paid on Both Sides" and "The Dance of Death" quite deserve this oblivion.) He includes, however, most of the long poems of recent date—"The Quest," "New Year Letter," "In Time of War," "The Sea and the Mirror," and "For the Time Being." And on the other hand, the shorter pieces of all periods are liberally represented. This emphasis in favor of brevity seems to me right; for in Auden, I think, the heart that perceives is superior to the mind that formulates, the rhetoric is better than the architecture; and he is at his best in works requiring a minimum of organization. For the rest, this collection certainly confirms Auden's great reputation. Rich in the imagery of disaster as befits the terrible age that produced it, but rich also in humor and learning, in song, in the sense of place and of time, in the kindly gestures of friendship and love and homage, it is one of the great literary records of our day.

From Auden and Spender, Jon Beck Shank ("Poems," Knopf, $2) has acquired an easy way with language, a candid way of talking about himself, a light way of saying portentous things about history:

> The age is older, rich in color,
> Spirited, will kiss and tell;
> Is up and doing, uniformed,
> At times coherent, but not well.

But Shank is still uncertain who he is and what he wants and whether he even wants to be a serious poet. "The final escape," he writes, "is that gardenias smell white." On the

Woodrow Wilson

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other hand, William Everson, Jacob Sloan, and Charles E. Butler, all young and unheard-of poets like Shank, are very serious but have no style, not even an inherited one. Out of their experience as conscientious objectors, Everson and Sloan write bitterly of the war; their volumes are called, respectively, "War Elegies" and "Generation of Journey" and are handsomely published in illustrated pamphlets by the Untide Press, Waldport, Oregon (25 cents each). Sloan blends Jewish themes with narratives of life in the C. O. camps. Everson records in his elegies what he calls "the phases of my relationship with the world at war."

In his foreword to Butler's "Cut Is the Branch" (Yale Series of Younger Poets, $2) Archibald MacLeish observes that "it is not easy to say which of the many possible reactions to the war will seem most truthful to those who took part in it." But he knows that Butler's reaction is one of uncompromising negation, and it is curious to find this official of a war government and former scourge of the "irresponsibles" commending a poet who once more proclaims the old doubts and disgusts. For Butler consents to know nothing of war except that it destroys life. The honest statement of this radical knowledge is the merit of his poetry.

There will be room for them: there will always be room.
The earth is deep and wide, and the seas are deep,
And the earth and sea will take them and consume
Whatever pain they know, falling to sleep.
There will be room for them in the dust and foam
Of all the wild and quiet ranks that run
Through time as in some half-remembered dream,
Falling eternally to spear and gun.

Upon their grief, as on the tears of those
Whose lives break with their dying, the seas will close.
Spacious, unquestioning, the earth will fold
Upon them now, as on the men of old
Who fought for Helen's beauty or some king
Whose name spelled honor, or for anything.

F. W. DUPEE

FICTION IN REVIEW

WITH no new novels that press for review, I have the opportunity to return briefly to John Hersey's "A Bell for Adano," which has just been announced as the Pulitzer prize-winner for fiction. I have been rereading Mr. Hersey's book, to find it even more primitive than I had remembered. This much-admired story of the American occupation of an Italian village is written in a prose redolent of the primer; it defines political good and evil in terms that make good and evil unmistakable to a school child. There is Major Joppolo, who stands for democracy: he is the kind of man who sees to it that simple Italian villagers are given a bell; and there is General Marvin, who stands for a possible American fascism: he is the kind of man who has a mule shot because it blocks his arrogant path. The squeeze of lemon in a concoction that would otherwise be too smooth for even our present childish tastes is the temporary victory, at the end of the book, of the Marvin force over the Joppolo force; but this triumph of evil, we feel sure, is only momentary; we put down "A Bell for Adano" with the comfortable conviction that although democracy has been momentarily deprived of its job, its good deeds live after it and its eventual victory is inevitable. Mr. Hersey's fears, that is, are more of a fillip than a warning. They never suggest any true complication of either ideas or feelings.

Of course we are not surprised that the Pulitzer committee has again chosen a novel that can scarcely give pleasure to people who take literature seriously; one has only to look back over the fiction awards in other years to realize that what would be really surprising would be to see the award go to a work of distinction. But this year's choice seems to me to be particularly striking for what it tells us both about the political direction of our present-day literary thought and about the quality of our political thought. For not only the general success but the critical prestige of "A Bell for Adano" indicates to what extent our literary judgment serves our political partisanship: it is evident that a novel need only agree with our politics to be a good novel. And nothing, I think, could better prove than the success of Mr. Hersey's novel that in the very degree that we are disturbed by the confusions and contradictions of actual events we deny or discourage any complication of our political ideas and emotions. In her Notes by the Way last week Margaret Marshall quoted the lesson Yeats's father taught him, that ideas rob a man of his nature and make the blood thin; and surely a large part of the anemia of our current fiction must be due to the soft political idealism which is its major inspiration. There is even the anomaly that it is our literature of affirmation and fortification that is fast becoming our new escape literature. It seems to me that a not too perverse case could be made for the thesis that the detective story, the romantic love story, all the fiction that we commonly think of as an evasion of reality actually if unconsciously bring us into closer connection with reality than our "healthy" didactic literature. In any event, at worst our old-fashioned escape reading frankly substituted for reality instead of befuddling us about reality itself.

Yet obviously, when I condemn "A Bell for Adano" as an oversimplification, it is not because I do not consider it as much a proper function of art to simplify complexity as to raise us to the level where we can more adequately cope with contradictions and confusions and despair. The occasional simple formulation of our popular emotions is a requirement not only of simple people but of all sections of society. Roosevelt, for instance, was notable for the ability to fulfil this general need, and on V-E Day we must all of us have missed the release and climax and coherence which he would have been able to give to our national sentiment. But the difference between a good art of simplification and a bad one lies, of course, in the sincerity, the naturalness, of the performance. One does not become the spokesman for mass feelings by an act of will, and to *assume* such a role, either because one wishes to influence large numbers of people or because one wishes to rid oneself of the responsibilities of sophistication, is to traffic in a dangerous condescension—dangerous because it makes not only for bad art but for bad politics. Condescension may be the antithesis of mule-shooting; and it is certainly harder to recognize as a menace. But it is still, I think, as potential a threat to the democratic spirit.

DIANA TRILLING

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Films

JAMES AGEE

"SAN PIETRO" is the record of the part which one regiment of infantrymen took in one of several fights which resulted in the capture of one village, the key to an Italian valley. At the end of the fight the seven-hundred-year-old village was chaos, and the regiment required 1,100 replacements. "San Pietro" runs only half an hour, and still leaves much of a world open to the most highly imaginative use of its kind of material. But it is in every way as good a war film as I have seen; in some ways it is the best.

It was made by six Signal Corps camera men under the command of Major John Huston, who also designed the scenario and wrote and spoke the narration. Most of these men were veterans. That fact presumably helps to explain a number of things: how they all lived through the shooting of the film; how deep inside the fighting some of it was made; how well they evidently understood what to expect, how to shoot it, what it was good for, and its weight and meaning in the whole picture. But remarkable as the camera men evidently were, it is fairly clear that the main credit for the picture goes to Major Huston. He moved continually from one of his men to the next, showing them what he wanted and where to go for it; he kept planning and revising his scenario and his narration in spare time during the days and nights of fighting; he had to work blind, for the film was developed and printed in Washington and he saw nothing he had—or had lost—until he got back to this country. Yet Huston and his camera men understood so well what they were after that when he did return, to assemble the film, he had to make very few changes in his narration.

The attitudes which have pervaded most of our combat films are seldom questionable and usually something to be proud of; but there is a major advance here. It is clear that Huston understood what he was recording, and how to record it, with a wonderfully vigorous and whole maturity, at once as a soldier and an artist and a man. No war film I have seen has been quite so attentive to the heaviness of casualties, and to the number of yards gained or lost, in such an action; none has so levelly watched and implied what it meant, in such full and complex terms—in military terms; in terms of the men who were doing the fighting; in terms of the villagers; and of their village; and of the surrounding country; and of the natural world; and of human existence and hope.

Huston's narration is a slightly simplified technical prose, at once exact and beautifully toned and subtly parodistic; it is spoken with finely shaded irony, equally free of pompousness and optimism and mawkish generalizations and cheap bitterness. Against the images he has chosen, their always satisfying arrangement, and their beautiful over-all plan and implication, this text points itself so richly and flexibly that for once wordiness in a film more than earns its way. As for the over-all plan and implication, I don't see how that of any post-war film is going to improve on it, and I rather doubt that any will come quite up to it. For at one and the same time, without one slip along the line, from the most ticklish fringes of taste to the depths of a sane mind and heart, it accepts the facts and treats them as materials relevant to anger, tenderness, pride, veneration, and beauty. Somewhere close to the essence of the power of moving pictures is the fact that they can give you things to look at, clear of urging or comment, and so ordered that they are radiant with illimitable suggestions of meaning and mystery. Huston's simple, wordless use of children, toward the end of this film, does that, and seems to me the first great passage of war poetry that has got on the screen. In emphatic agreement with some recent comments by Bernard Haggin, however, I do want to object to one thing; music can only vitiate this kind of film. Here, with all words and irony at last withdrawn, as you watch the faces of the children, each one unimaginably beautiful and portentous, and ordered and timed into their culmination as nobly as the words in a great tragic line, it is as infuriating to have to fight off the emotional sales pressure of the Mormon Choir as it would be if all the honored watches and nasal aphrodisiacs insisted on marketing themselves against a Toscanini broadcast.

Music can be well used in movies. It was wonderfully used in Dovschenko's "Frontier," for instance; for another kind I like the naive, excitable, perfectly appropriate score of the soundtracked version of "The Birth of a Nation"; and indeed I think the greatest possibilities have hardly yet been touched. But music is just as damaging to nearly all fiction films as to nearly all fact films, as it is generally used in both today. Its ability to bind together a succession of images, or to make transitions between blocks of them—not to mention "transitional" and "special-effect" and "montage" passages—inevitably makes for laziness or for slackened imagination in making the images and setting them in order, and in watching them. Still worse, it weakens the emotional imagination both of maker and onlooker, and makes it virtually impossible to communicate or receive ideas. It sells too cheaply and far too sensually all the things it is the business of the screen itself to present. The rough equivalent might be a poet who could dare to read aloud from his own work only if the lights were dimmed and some Debussy was on, very low.

One of the best scenes in Vincente Minelli's new picture, "The Clock," is a good example. In this scene a soldier (Robert Walker) and a girl (Judy Garland) walk, as if hypnotized, into their first embrace. A kind of sentimental mysticism is tried for here, and more than achieved; moreover the timing of their walk and of the several shots is boldly and successfully unrealistic; the increasingly large close-ups and the gravity, the suggestion of death, which grows in the soldier's face achieve at once a remarkably deep and pure power of the moment and of the individuals, and a kind of generic pity and majesty. But all this time, with the dirtiest and most merciless kind of efficiency, a full orchestra and hyped-up soprani are working at you, below the belt. How much better the same scene would play silent, or at least without music, I cannot gauge; but I am reasonably sure of two things. It would play much better; and if Minelli had not been assuming soft-salty horn-choirs and other questionable kinds of assistance—he was anyhow well content with them once they were glued on—he would have exerted himself to make the scene still more powerful. (A sudden reduction of the sounds of the city, to which they had just been listening, would have been good enough; but those sounds are as unimaginatively worked out as the music itself.)

The whole of "The Clock" suffers in every field from equivalent kinds of softness. It is strictly a romance, and in every essential respect a safe one, safely told, disappointing and angering in the thought of the great film it might have been. (The very simple story of a soldier's two days in New York, it had every right to be as good in its own very different way as "San Pietro.") But within its softly chosen terms it is also quite charmingly and sometimes beauti-

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fully told. Emotionally, it is perceptive, detailed, and sweet, and there is more ability, life, resource, and achievement in it than in any fiction film I have seen for a long time. The script by Robert Nathan and Joseph Schranck is very shrewd; but the man who pours it so full of gifts is Minelli. Considering the breadth and variety of his talents, his eye and feeling for the city itself are surprisingly dull; but his extras and their gaits and groupings and clothes, and their stammering collisions and multiplicities of purpose and aimlessness, beat anything I can remember out of Hollywood; and while I don't wholly care for his passion for elastic boom-shots and for the curiously pelvic rhythm he gives this picture, I can certainly respect the achievement. Minelli appears, too, to know better than most directors just how to use his individual players: to turn the show over to Keenan Wynn for his alcoholic cadenza; to retract slightly James Gleason and to leave his wife Lucille a long tether; to develop in Robert Walker his singular gentleness and pathos and to rid him of infantile mannerisms; and to prove for the first time beyond anybody's doubt that Judy Garland can be a very sensitive actress. In this film Miss Garland can handle every emotion in sight, in any size and shape, and the audience along with it. Incidentally, the dress she wears during most of the film is about the most appropriate prop I can remember since McTeague's checked cap in "Greed."

By what I can see in the film, and have heard, Minelli does not discriminate very clearly between the good in his work and the not-so-good or the downright bad which in part he puts into it and which in part is forced on him. Much as I regret that, it may on the whole be just as well. If he knew better, he might be either much more of an artist or much less of one; in either case he would have a much harder time working in Hollywood. I suspect I may overrate this best of his films; but I also suspect that twenty and fifty years from now, however embarrassing a lot of it is, it will be remembered.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

VICTOR has issued its first record (11-8761; $1) of the Detroit Symphony conducted by Karl Krueger—a somewhat over-muscular performance of Offenbach's Overture to "Orpheus in Hades," which seems to have been recorded with a too limited frequency-range, since the sound, though marvelously clear and faithful to timbre, is heavy and lacking in brightness even on a wide-range machine.

One of Victor's new "showpiece albums," entitled "Music to Remember" after the film of that name (SP-4; $1.75), offers two little records with Iturbi's vulgarly affected and poorly recorded performances of Chopin's Mazurka Opus 7 No. 1, his Waltzes Opus 64 Nos. 1 and 2, and the Fantaisie-Impromptu Opus 66. Victor is charging twenty-five cents above the price of the two records for an "album" which is nothing but a double-pocket of heavy paper with gaudy pictorial decoration and slushy verbal material that can be of use to Victor in selling the records but of none to the buyer in storing them. That is, the paper does not protect them against breakage, and there is no room for corrugated pads; so the buyer will have to take the records out of this album and put them into a normal one.

For the rest, Victor is featuring an older set (605; $2.00) of the superb Toscanini-N. B. C. Symphony performance of Rossini's Overture to "William Tell." The new pressing produces a sound that is less strident but that retains its original Studio 8H hardness. And combined on a single disc (11-8727; $1) are two Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony recordings which formerly filled in the last sides of album sets: the charming waltz from Tchaikovsky's Serenade for strings, and Grieg's "Last Spring," which are performed well but recorded with harshness and stridency.

Tudor's creative mind continues to be obsessed with sexual frustration; in his new ballet "Undertow" he carries it to a psychopathological extreme which ends in murder of the love-object. I would have said that a ballet of this kind stands or falls not by its idea but by the dance-terms in which the idea is realized; after seeing "Undertow" I must add that even when the detail is good the ballet may fall by its idea. "Fancy Free" succeeds not only because of the excellence of the movement in which its idea is realized but because the movement carries out an idea which is itself acceptable. In "Undertow" much of the stylized movement and pantomime into which Tudor has translated his observation of behavior and his insight into motivation—the elderly respectable citizen slithering surreptitiously about the prostitute, the young newlyweds ecstatically flinging themselves into each other's arms, the vicious young girl hovering provocatively about the four young toughs until they seize her and drag her off—is the most brilliantly imaginative, the clearest and sharpest in conception and execution, that Tudor has done. But with those details one sees what is done in relation to them by the central male character, and one is made aware of the distorted, unacceptable idea which his behavior represents; and one's continuing objection to what is distorted and unacceptable finally outweighs one's enjoyment of what is brilliantly imaginative.

For once Tudor has no help from the music, which this time is one of William Schuman's ranting horrors. But Raymond Breinin's scenery and costumes are excellent. And the piece is danced superbly by the Ballet Theater company, with especially brilliant performances by Alicia Alonso and Nana Gollner.

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which she first put on a couple of years ago, is the best of her present productions because it presents the dances in their normal context—except for the fact that normally they would not have to fight off a Dali setting. "Dances from Capriccio Espagnol" turned out to be not dances *from* Massine's ballet but Argentinita's dances *to* Rimsky-Korsakov's score—enjoyable enough, but no substitute for Massine's wonderful work. As for his "Moonlight Sonata," I was willing to take a reliable witness's word that it was something worth missing.

Since I was critical of Ballet Theater's performances of classic ballet I should mention a beautiful performance of "Les Sylphides" with Toumanova, Alonso, Hightower, and Eglevsky. Toumanova danced with restraint; Eglevsky with the continuity of impetus and phrase that he has acquired this season; and Hightower with her lovely fluency and suppleness; but it was Alonso who made the greatest impression with the way she did the Prelude—a way very much like Markova's in the delicacy, lightness, and sharp definition of the movement, the quiet and repose of its continuous flow.

Which brings me to the outstanding events of Ballet Theater's season—Markova's guest appearances in "Romeo and Juliet, "Pas de Quatre," and "Giselle." And for comment which expresses certain images of Markova's dancing that I have, in my own previous comments, been able to express only approximately and inadequately, I will turn this column over to its occasional guest. After describing, in the *Herald-Tribune,* the technical characteristics of her dancing that are extraordinary, Mr. Denby wrote: "But her dancing is based on a rarer virtue. It is the quiet which she moves in, an instinct for the melody of movement as it deploys and subsides in the silence of time that is the most refined of rythmic delights. The sense of serenity in animation she creates is as touching as that of a Mozart melody. And like Mozart . . . she is a completely objective artist. Who Markova is, nobody knows. What you see on the stage is the piece she performs, the character she acts." And describing her Juliet as "a miracle of acting," in which "every nuance of pantomime is poignantly clear and every movement is a different aspect of the cumulative tragedy," he added: "And the restraint of them all, the slow-motion continuum from which they each arise as dance gestures and which flows so steadily through the whole hour-long ballet are wonders to have seen."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Individual Equality

Dear Sirs: There has been much discussion of the voting procedure in the Security Council on an accusation of aggression. But there should be no voting procedure at all on aggression or on any other breach of international law as established by the council in its proper and legislative function. It has long been recognized that the use of one body both to legislate and then to judge cases under its own statutes means no law at all but simply arbitrary action on each case.

Let the Big Three, the Big Five, or whatever we arrive at, hold permanent seats on the council while lesser nations have smaller voices. This is a rough substitute for a representative formula, which it might be impossible to establish in so varied a world. But let us make all nations juridically equal before a high court established by the Security Council. Let this be a true court which will interpret the world security treaty and the statutory law of the Security Council. Adequate means for enforcing the court's decisions should be created by the council, and the absurdity of voting council members judging themselves should be dropped.

ROBERT J. ULLMAN

New York, March 10

"Long Live the E. L. A. S."

Dear Sirs: A copy of the Volo *Anayennisi* of January 6, 1945, when fighting between the British and E. L. A. S. was still going on in Athens, has come into my possession, and I have translated the following item:

Moses Simeon Pesah, chief rabbi of Volo, who with other Israelitish citizens fled to Free Greece during the period of the occupation, after the liberation sent a warm letter of thanks to the National Headquarters of the E. L. A. S., to the 54th Regiment, to the Directing Committee of Thessaly, and to the Volo Provincial Committee, in which he expressed deep appreciation to the E. L. A. S. and the other organizations of the E. A. M. for the assistance which they had furnished him and all Israelites. The Chief Rabbi closes his letter as follows:

"The universal history of Judaism will devote a special chapter to the noteworthy event of the salvation of the Hebrews of Greece who took refuge with the E. L. A. S. and from them received adequate assistance and protection from the hard persecution of the barbarous Germans. We Israelites of Greece will never forget the great kindness and the warm reception which we all received without discrimination at the hands of the heroic national army of the E. L. A. S. and of other groups of the liberating organization of the E. A. M., namely, the *Ethniki Allilengyi* (Welfare Organization), which supported the victims of fascism and fed the poor; the peace-loving *Politofilaki* (Civil Police); and the E. P. O. N. (Youth Organization). We shall transmit commemoration of these deeds as a sacred usage from generation to generation as our meed of appreciation to the liberating army of the E. L. A. S. and its related bodies.

"May the blessings of the Most High attend your deeds—folk-saving deeds for humanity, nation-saving deeds for Greeks. May He guard you from every danger and misfortune, to the advantage of us all. Your path be the path of victory.

"Long live the E. L. A. S.! Long live Hellas!

"(*Signed*) Moses Simeon Pesah,
"Chief Rabbi of Volo."

ELI CHAMBERLAIN

New York, February 23

Prejudice Marches On

Dear Sirs: I recently took a copy of *The Cross and the Flag,* published by rabble-rouser Gerald L. K. Smith, to the FBI and asked why they permitted it to be sold on the streets of Pittsburgh. I brought two articles to their special attention, Ickes and Franco and Argentine Episode, and I also expressed my views against Franco. The special agent to whom I spoke wanted to know what was wrong with Franco and subjected me to a "Spanish Inquisition," asking who the Loyalists were, etc. When I asked why he was questioning me he said he wanted to find out how much I knew about it.

When I asked why Coughlin was not taken in, I was told that they had nothing on him. When I suggested that the Catholic church might be protecting him, I was accused of being prejudiced. Indeed, I am prejudiced against a religious organization that has accepted

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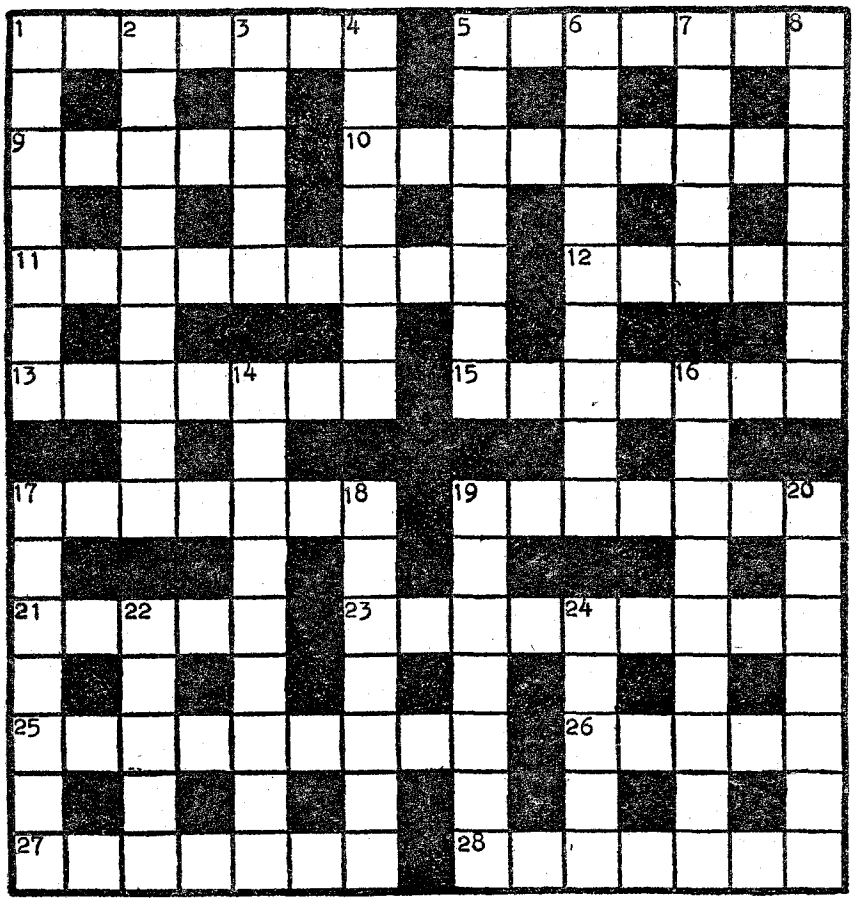
Crossword Puzzle No. 117

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 A ministering angel
5 Savage and deformed slave of Prospero in Shakespeare's *Tempest*
9 "The ----- who praises in enthusiastic tone, All centuries but this and every country but his own" (*The Mikado*)
10 Enclosures
11 This kind of cataract won't hurt your eyes
12 The gilt on the gingerbread, in a manner of speaking
13 Frenchman who is part German
15 Thick and sticky
17 He likes to put his oar in
19 What ships weigh (no, not "anchors")
21 Spill — but not the sort you light up with
23 Can provide you with a shakedown on the table
25 The things 'round the hotel are what the gardener has pulled up
26 American town in nautical guise
27 Stretch in all directions
28 ------- Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street

DOWN

1 Irascible old gentleman in *Oliver Twist*, always ready to "eat his head" if his opinions were proved wrong
2 Bert's idle (anag.)
3 An interesting start
4 A cat tale would naturally be concerned with milk
5 Parish in Somerset, England (now called "Queen's Camel"), where King Arthur held his court
6 Might load ice on an ancient who is lukewarm
7 Australia's famous surf-bathing beach
8 A bit large for a buttonhole
14 Suddenly (three words, 3, 2 and 4)
16 Open country you get to via Cork?
17 Rose by another name
18 A red pine undergoes a slight transformation
19 They don't mind being dictated to
20 Only tidal rivers have one
22 Take one, and you have a pastry shop; two, an inn; three, a Grand Hotel
24 A test for the musician

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 116

ACROSS:—1 CRAWLS; 5 SEPTIC; 9 ITCHING; 11 TROIKA; 12 IGNORE; 13 ERRANDS; 14 ULNA; 17 RASP; 19 POTBOILER; 22 CATTY; 23 GORES; 25 BOUGHT; 26 FORMED; 27 TUBER; 29 CRETE; 31 SERENADER; 34 ODDS; 36 TODO; 37 ALL LIES; 39 BATTLE; 40 ATTEST; 41 MAN-MADE; 42 THROAT; 43 STUPOR.

DOWN:—1 CATSUP; 2 ANOINT; 3 LIKE; 4 STARLIGHT; 5 SNIDE; 6 EGGS; 7 TOO FAT; 8 CREEPY; 10 HEALER; 15 LOMBARD; 16 ABDUCTS; 17 RAW MEAT; 18 STUDDED; 20 LOTUS; 21 REFER; 24 SOREHEADS; 28 BEDLAM; 29 COMBAT; 30 EDITOR; 32 DONE UP; 33 ROSTER; 35 CLEAT; 37 ALMA; 38 STET.

money from Mussolini and aided fascist organization in Europe, that meddles in our political affairs and uses its influence in Latin America.

I wonder what Biddle's attitude is. Why is Coughlin still at large? Whose money supports *The Cross and the Flag?* Pittsburgh citizens should find out.

IRENE STANFORD

Beaver, Pa., April 3

Dear Sirs: I recently had the misfortune to meet a high-ranking American officer who boasted that he had been "transferred" from three commands because of his openly expressed anti-Semitic views. This officer has not been dismissed from the service; he has merely been transferred. By its "attitude of nonintervention" the army has helped perpetuate existing prejudices. Prejudice is not instinctive; anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes are developed in growing citizens by the deliberate anti-democratic propaganda of an adult minority. Incidents involving racial prejudice should be reported to the proper authorities whenever possible, and should be widely publicized. Attempts should be made to educate the guilty toward a more democratic way of life.

SERVICE MAN

April 27

We Were Wrong

Dear Sirs: If you paid a dollar for the information that *Les Lettres Françaises* uses the cap and bells of a court jester to designate the bishop in its chess problems (In the Wind, April 28), you were had. This symbol is always used in France to designate the piece known in English as the bishop but in French as the jester, *le fou.*

WAVERLY ROOT

Rockport, Mass., May 1

Saintsbury Memorial

Dear Sirs: To mark the centenary of the late Professor George Saintsbury's birth, a memorial volume is being prepared for publication. This is being compiled by a number of us who were Professor Saintsbury's students. The volume will include, among other things, a selection made from those of Saintsbury's writings which have appeared only in the pages of periodicals. Any information which your readers could give me about such contributions would help materially the work which is now in progress.

AUGUSTUS MUIR

Berden, Hertfordshire, England,

February 7

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